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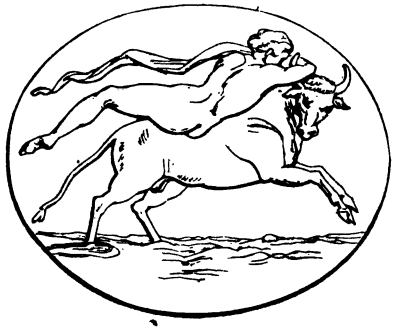
TRAVELS IN CRETE

BY

ROBERT PASHLEY ESQ.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME I



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TO

HENRY MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE

AS A SLIGHT TESTIMONY OF RESPECT

FOR

HIS LITERARY TASTES AND ACQUIREMENTS

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PREFACE.

I SPENT the spring and summer of the year 1833 in the Ionian Islands, Albania, and Greece; its autumn in some of the north-western parts of Asia Minor and at Constantinople; and the following months of December and January at Malta.

Before I left England, towards the end of 1832, the Lords of the Admiralty had given an official order to Captain Copeland, R.N. who was likely to be engaged, the following spring, in surveying the Asiatic coast, between the Dardanelles and Mytilene, to render me every assistance in his power, consistent with the due progress of the Survey, in my travels and researches.

Captain Beaufort, Hydrographer to the Admiralty, at whose instance the order of the Board was given, was anxious to make the Survey in some way subservient to the advancement of our knowledge of ancient

topography. It is easy to conceive, that the author of "Karamania" must have regretted that so excellent an opportunity of learning something about the antiquities of the more northern parts of Asia Minor, should be lost. The Admiralty order, however, in my case, led to no results worth speaking of. On joining Captain Copeland, in the Beacon, at Mytilene, after my visit to Constantinople, I found that he was on the point of sailing for Malta, to winter there: and the season was too far advanced for me to have any prospect of being able to travel much in Asia Minor, if I remained. Still I was reluctant to go to Malta unless I could ensure my return to Greece or Turkey very early in the spring.

It had been my good fortune, some months before, to become acquainted with Vice-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, whose long-continued presence in the neighbourhood of Greece and its Islands, as Commander-in-chief of the British Naval Forces in the Mediterranean, has communicated to him a degree of zeal for antiquarian pursuits, even something like that for which he is so highly distinguished within the sphere of his own profession.

On sailing in the Beacon, from Mytilene to Vurlá, I found the British Squadron at anchor there, under Sir Pulteney's command. My hesitation to accede to

Captain Copeland's proposal that I should accompany him to Malta, was at once removed. The Admiral kindly promised that he would take care to furnish me with the means of returning to Greece as soon as I should wish.

I therefore went to Malta, and remained there several weeks. My residence at La Valetta rendered me as much Captain Copeland's debtor, for kindness and hospitality while on shore, as I had been when at sea.

Circumstances, which it is unnecessary here to state, made me very anxious to return to England; and it was with extreme reluctance that I prepared to go back to the East, even for the few months the result of which is partly exhibited in these volumes. I felt, however, bound at least to visit Crete. Had I not done so, the greater part of a twelvemonth spent by me in Greece and Turkey, would have led to no useful or permanent result.

On the morning of Wednesday the 5th of February 1834, I left Malta, in the Hind Cutter, commanded by Lieutenant Coleman, who was under orders to land me at Khaniá. Early the following Saturday, I saw the blue mountain-tops of Greece, and, in the afternoon of the same day, landed in Crete.

I was accompanied by Signor Antonio Schranz, a native of Spain, who has been long domiciliated with his family at Malta, and to whose pencil the reader of these volumes is indebted for nearly all the engravings which they contain[1].

Early in the following September I hired a Greek schooner of Hýdhra, at Khaniá, for my voyage to Italy. After a very bad passage, of nearly thirty days, I landed at the lazaretto of Ancona, in the beginning of October. I spent part of December at Venice, and the reader will find sufficient evidence of my employment there, in the extracts from unpublished manuscripts, which are occasionally given in the notes to these volumes, and more especially in the Appendix.

I arrived in London on the 1st of February 1835, and in the course of that year had almost prepared my Travels in Crete for the press, when events occurred in consequence of which I spent a considerable part of the ensuing winter in Germany. Thus I could not go to press till the last summer: and, even since I began to print, I have experienced some interruptions, which have compelled me, however reluctantly, greatly to curtail my work.

[1] Mr Glasscott, R.N. also went with me to Khaniá from Malta, but was unable, from indisposition, to travel in the island, and, after staying at Khaniá for about two months, rejoined his ship the Beacon on the coast of Asia Minor.

My acknowledgements are due to the Syndics of the Pitt Press, in the University of Cambridge, for a very liberal contribution, out of the funds at their disposal, towards the typographical expenses of the present publication.

I have also to express my grateful acknowledgements to the Reverend Frederick Field, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, for the aid which he has kindly rendered me in correcting the sheets of these volumes as they passed through the press.

LONDON, *Jan.* 3, 1837.

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INTRODUCTION.

Nel mezzo 'l mar siede un paese guasto,
Diss' egli allora, che s' appella Creta.
DANTE.

BEFORE the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, Crete was the worst governed province of the Turkish Empire; the local authorities were wholly unable to control the license of the Janissaries, who consisted solely of Cretan Mohammedans, and made it a point of honour not to suffer any one of their members to be brought to justice for any ordinary crime. So completely did every Pashá, appointed by the Sublime Porte, depend on this turbulent militia, that his authority always ceased as soon as they resisted it; which, on several occasions, they did, so far as even to depose him and to send to Constantinople in order to obtain the confirmation of his successor's election as made by themselves. In one or other of their regiments almost every Cretan Mohammedan was enrolled; and it is easy to conceive what must have been the condition of the Christian population.

Besides the grinding oppressions of the regular authorities, and of the different corps of Janissaries, every Greek was also at the mercy of the lowest Mohammedan of the island, who, in consequence of the weakness of the local government, could make any demand, and perpetrate any enormity with complete security. Thus, literally, no Christian was master of his own house: any Mohammedan might pass his threshold, and either require from him money, or, what was far commoner, send the

husband or father out of the way, on some mere pretext, and himself remain with his wife or daughter. So atrocious and frequent were such acts of violence and oppression, that I have been assured, by persons well acquainted with Turkey, and certainly favourably disposed to the Turks, that the horrors and atrocities which were almost of daily occurrence in Crete, had hardly a single parallel throughout the whole extent of the Ottoman Empire.

From the number of the suffering Christians of the island, up to 1821, we must except the hardy and courageous Sfakians, who had preserved amid their native mountains a wild independence, and the right of wearing their arms, in the use of which they were eminently skilful. They became the nucleus round which the revolt in Crete formed itself; and though the Mohammedans were all armed, and were nearly 30,000 in number, at the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, yet, such was the superior activity, courage, and address of the Christians, that in less than a year after they had raised the standard of the cross, their foes were almost all driven into the fortified towns.

From 1822 to 1830 Crete was an object of peculiar attention to the Viceroy of Egypt. In 1822 he dispatched 7000 Albanians, under Khassán-pashá, to aid the native Mohammedans; but the difficulties which these troops encountered were such, that, before their general's death the following year, they had most of them fallen, either by the sword or by disease, without having gained any important advantage over the insurgent Christians.

Khuseín-bey, who afterwards fell at the siege of Mesolónghi, was now sent with still greater forces, and in 1824 the Greeks were compelled to submit. Thousands of them left the country; and the Cretan Turks, it would seem, wreaked their vengeance for the sufferings they had endured in the war, on such as had no means of flight from the island. The Mohammedans, in short, had learnt no lesson of justice or of moderation by the

events of the previous war; and, consequently, the smothered flames of insurrection, which again burst out soon after the battle of Navarino, blazed more widely and more fiercely than those of the first revolt. The Christians reaped the harvests of 1828 and 1829 unmolested by the Mohammedans, who were again cooped up within the walls of the fortified towns, and would soon, in all probability, either have abandoned the island, or have perished in it, had not the three Allied Powers decided, that Crete should be united to the government of Mehmét-Alí, and notified their decree to the Christian population.

With the deep wounds of mutual hatred, engendered by so long and so bitter a strife, still open, the Christian had to regard as his master a Turkish Pashá sent from Alexandria, instead of one from Constantinople, and thought his condition but little bettered by the change; while the Cretan Mohammedans, who had cordially hated the Egyptians from the very moment of their landing in Crete, were to submit to a power which was hardly considered as dependent on the Sultan; and, what was still worse in the opinion of the majority, one which would be able to enforce its own decrees, and to treat with equal rigour all the inhabitants of the island. Both parties were therefore disappointed and disgusted at this termination of the struggle, the Christians having expected to shake off the Turkish yoke, and the Mohammedans having hoped to re-establish their old lawless independence.

The Greeks, who had long looked up to the Allies as their protectors and benefactors, now saw that a decision fatal to all their hopes was taken. Nevertheless they received from Captain Yorke, (now Lord Hardwicke), who then commanded a frigate at Grabúsa, assurances respecting both the sympathy felt for them by the British Government, and the legal and orderly system about to be established by the Viceroy of Egypt. They therefore abandoned a contest in which they had supposed themselves countenanced by the Christian powers, and the

end of which would plainly have been favourable to themselves, soon after they first raised the standard of the cross, had not a great foreign force been called in to support the Cretan Mohammedans.

Thus the Greeks submitted; and it appears undoubted that the number of those among them, who went into a voluntary exile from their native land, at first exceeded 30,000 souls. The Viceroy of Egypt, however, did all he could to appease their terror and to inspire them with confidence in his government. He assured them, in his first proclamation, that he had intrusted to his Major-General Osmán-Nuredín-bey, the organization of the island, because that officer was well acquainted "with European usages," and would thus be able to arrange everything in a manner answerable to the paternal views of the Viceroy. The complete pacification of Crete was effected in a few months, without bloodshed; and it must be said, in favour of the Egyptian rule, that law and order obtained a dominion, which had in all probability hitherto been entirely unknown in the country, even from the time of its conquest by the Venetians more than six hundred years ago.

Two Councils were now established, one at Megálo-Kástron, the other at Khaniá, composed partly of Mohammedans and partly of Christians, and designed for the administration of justice in all ordinary cases. The effect of the institution of these Councils was most salutary, as far as the sentiments of the Christians were concerned; for it was soon found that they obtained at least equal justice, perhaps at first rather more, in all disputes with Mohammedans of the island. This is easily understood, for, since the Egyptians knew the impossibility of *any* system of government ever reconciling the Cretan Mohammedans to their transfer from the easy rein of the Sultan to the iron bit of his Egyptian Satrap, they endeavoured to obtain a hold on the good wishes of the Christian population, about whom alone they supposed that the Allies too interested themselves.

The Governor-general Mustafá-pashá, and his co-adjutor Osmán-bey, early this year also issued a proclamation to the Christians of the island, who had already delivered up their arms, telling them "that the sole "object of their Master, Mehmét-Alí-pashá, was to es- "tablish the tranquillity and to cause the prosperity of "Crete, and to deliver the Christians from the vexations "to which they were formerly exposed." Many of the ordinary oppressions exercised against them before the revolution, were enumerated and prohibited: order was established: Greeks from other parts flocked to the principal towns, and fixed themselves in them as traders; many of the exiles returned; some being compelled to do so by the impossibility of finding the means of subsistence in Greece, while others were glad again to seek their natal soil the moment they could persuade themselves that the Egyptians did not design their utter extermination. In April the object of Osmán-bey's mission had been so far attained, that his longer presence in the island was judged unnecessary. The establishment of a lazaretto at Súdha, and the erection of a set of barracks in Khaniá, were additional indications of the difference between the systems of Alexandria and Constantinople.

In October 1831 however, the period of what may be called good government was to cease: considerable changes of system, such as indicated a determination, on the part of the Viceroy, to convert the island into a source of revenue, were adopted.

One most important innovation had already been effected. The Viceroy had taken possession of most of the mukatás. These mukatás are the proprietorships of the seventh of all the produce in any parish or district, and used to be granted by the Porte to a Turkish Agá for life; and at his death the possession was ordinarily continued to his heir, who paid a small fine on the occasion. Thus these gentlemen in some measure represented, in Turkey, the feudal proprietors of our own middle-age

history. No doubt the system of the Porte was a very bad one, suffering, as it did, this source of a great territorial revenue to slip entirely through its fingers. The Viceroy of Egypt, on pretexts of one kind or another, (for who dared dispute a title which his agents maintained to be legal?) deprived most of these gentlemen of their fiefs, so that at the present moment the Government receives the main amount of the tithe, (the seventh that is,) of all the produce of the island. This grand extension of the Sovereign's rights and possessions in the country was an indication that other measures of the same nature might be expected: and we shall see that they soon followed.

Still no measure had as yet been directed against the Christians, and exiles continued to return, especially after the death of Capo d'Istria, which had thrown affairs into great anarchy and confusion in Greece. It was rumoured in Crete, that in consequence of Capo d'Istria's death, the Allies would re-construct the chart of free Greece, and that Crete would be included in it. The Christians nevertheless continued to be favourably regarded by the government, especially after the commencement of hostilities between Mehmét-Alí and the Porte; from which time a very jealous watch was kept over the Cretan Moslems, by the Egyptians, who knew well that if a descent were made by the Sultan on Crete, his forces would be immediately joined by all the Mohammedans of the island.

Mehmét-Alí at this moment possessed a fertile island which remained tranquil under the sway to which it had so reluctantly submitted: many of its exiles had already returned: its villages were re-peopling: some of its fertile and uncultivated plains were again tilled, and the rich annual produce of its countless olive-trees was again gathered by their owners. Had the Viceroy been contented with affairs remaining on their then footing, everything announced the rapid restoration of this fine country to a prosperous state: but those very indications

of renascent prosperity and of still greater dormant capabilities, awakened his attention and excited his cupidity. Receiving as he did already the seventh of nearly the whole produce of the island, he saw how great a revenue might be derived from it, if it were governed by him like his African dominions; and he reflected but little, it would seem, on the difference of character between the warlike mountaineer of Crete and the miserable fellah of Egypt, but simply looked forward to rendering himself the sole territorial proprietor of the country which now politically belonged to him.

Entertaining such designs as these, (designs which were soon to be developed,) it was plainly necessary to neutralize the effects produced by the institution of the municipal councils, and to convert them into mere organs of the sovereign will. This was effected. A distinguished Mohammedan was executed on a slight pretext, and two members of the council were banished to the solitary and barren rock of Grabúsa.

From this moment it became understood that the views of the "President" of the Council, an Egyptian Turk with a salary exceeding that of *all* its other members together, were always those of the Viceroy, and were to be acted upon on every occasion. This conviction became the guide of all the future conduct of those boards. No tax was ever proposed, how impolitic soever the councillors might regard it, to which they did not give their eager assent, even sometimes vying with one another for the praise of devotedness to the Viceroy, when they found that he not only possessed, but exercised, the power of rewarding subserviency, and of punishing independence. The system of terror, thus commenced, was highly increased by a regulation, introduced during the continuance of hostilities with the Porte, according to which all letters coming to the island addressed to Cretans, whether Christians or Mohammedans, were conveyed to the Council and there opened. Such a proceeding in Turkey has a very terrible

character, since a word in a letter may easily suffice, even under Mehmét-Alí's government, as the death-warrant of its receiver. After this epoch no councillor ventured to give an opinion at the council-board: they merely expressed their assent to the wishes of the President.

The Pashá now imposed on all wine a duty of four parás the oke, or about one-eighth of its value, to be paid by the owner of every vineyard, even for the wine which he consumed in his own family, as well as for what he might sell. This caused great and universal dissatisfaction. The export duty on oil was at the same time increased, as well as those on several other articles of exportation, as, at Megálo-Kástron, on wax, carobs, &c.; and duties were imposed on many things which had never before paid anything. All supplies too, wanted either for the regular Arab troops in the island, or for Egyptian ships of war putting into the bay of Súdha, were to be furnished, according to a tarif of the government, at prices very much below their real value. A tax similar to the "octroi" of the French, was also introduced into Crete, and duties were paid at the gates of all the large towns on many articles of consumption. From this source and from some monopolies, farmed by contractors, an annual sum of £6000, which is considerable in Crete, as an addition to the already existing taxes, was obtained.

While all these new and previously unheard-of imposts served to demonstrate the Viceroy's attachment to European institutions, and his wish to extend the improvements and discoveries of civilization to the soil of Crete, he made no attempt whatever to give the Cretans any of those returns for their money, which people ordinarily have in the heavily taxed countries of Europe. The roads which the Turks of Constantinople had never once caused to be repaired since they took the island, remained equally neglected by their successors of Alexandria. The progressive filling up of the ports of Rhíthymnos and Megálo-Kástron, although so serious

an evil as to threaten the commerce of those places with destruction, remained unarrested.

Not long after the commencement of hostilities between Mehmét-Alí and the Porte, two Cretan Turks of rank were arrested and executed, without any form of trial or condemnation: one, because he had been to visit a relation, formerly a Pashá of Crete, and then in the employ of the Sultan; the other, because he had made application for a mukatá at Constantinople; although he might have known that the Viceroy meant to seize on all the mukatás for himself, at least as fast as they became vacant, if not faster.

In July 1832 a bujurdí of Mehmét-Alí was received, in which he replied to the Sultan's firman against him, and ordered the Pashá of Crete "to put to death every Mohammedan who should either entertain projects against the Viceroy, or should spread bad news in the island."

We may observe that all these resumptions of the old arbitrary system were directed against the Mohammedans exclusively, and mainly against the higher classes; and that, so far, the Christians had only to complain, as of evils actually endured, of the many new taxes by which they were oppressed. Perhaps to set his conduct towards the Mohammedans in contrast with his intentions towards his Christian subjects, Mehmét-Alí caused the rumour to be generally spread, during the continuance of the campaign in Asia Minor, that, if he succeeded in establishing his independence, his first act would be to affranchise the Christians, in every part of his dominions, from the payment of the poll-tax, and to establish complete civil equality between them and the Mohammedans.

The young King Otho's arrival in Greece, in January 1833, produced no important effect in Crete, where however the discontent caused by the new taxes was high enough without any addition to it. In April 1833 the authorities, who knew how widely diffused and general this discontent had become, were alarmed by clandestine

disembarkations of Greeks on different points of the coast. It was reported too, that the Virgin and several Saints had shewn themselves in various churches and monasteries of the island, and this rumour soon gained credit with the Christian population, who assembled, sometimes in bodies of several thousands, at the holy places which had been favoured by these miraculous appearances. These meetings naturally awakened the anxious attention of the local government, several members of which suspected them to be connected with some revolutionary design.

Before the religious enthusiasm thus excited had subsided, it was announced that the Viceroy intended to visit the island in person: although the assertion was not at first believed, it proved true, and on the 12th of August 1833, the Ruler of Egypt, Syria, and Crete, arrived.

We have seen that the European principles, which were held out as the basis of the Egyptian government in Crete, when the people gave up their arms in 1830, and of which England and the other two powers were considered as the guarantees, had been sufficiently departed from in 1833. A published declaration of the Sultan, on abandoning Crete to his powerful vassal, that "no taxes should in future be paid by the Cretan Greeks, excepting the tithe and the poll-tax," had been so totally disregarded, that duties had been imposed on almost every article of both exportation and importation, and even on some articles of produce, as wine and spirit, when consumed by the grower on the spot. Although much had been said of introducing European institutions into the country, yet whenever it was desirable to put a man out of the way, he was still disposed of with the ease and indifference of the older Turkish times.

When all this had taken place, the Viceroy arrived in the island, accompanied, as is usual in his progresses, by the British Consul-general, or Diplomatic Agent, Colonel Campbell, in whose eyes he of course intended to

display himself in the paternal character, which he is said not unfrequently to assume, in his intercourse with the representatives, at Alexandria, of both England and France.

Mehmét-Alí now published a proclamation, telling the Cretans how much he had occupied himself, both when at Alexandria and in Upper Egypt, with plans for promoting their welfare; and intreating them to approach his person, to tell him their wants, and to teach him every thing they might wish about their condition. The peasants were simple enough to take him at his word; and after embodying, in a respectful petition, an enumeration of some of the many unpopular innovations which had marked the history of the two previous years, they delivered it to Mustafá-pashá, in order that he might present it to the Viceroy. They mentioned some of the most oppressive of the many new taxes; the arbitrary mode in which the poll-tax was exacted from them; and the presence of irregular troops (Albanians) dispersed in small parties of ten or twelve through the villages, where, having nothing to do, they had caused much domestic disquiet, and many divorces: they also complained of the severity with which the punishment by bastinado was applied. Such a document as this was what the Viceroy had never calculated on receiving, and the Pashá of Crete told the petitioners that he dared not present it to his master. Thus the people returned to their homes, far more disgusted than if no such professions of a wish to know their condition had ever been made. But the matter did not rest here; for the Viceroy having invited a declaration from the Cretans, it was determined to procure one. The Pashá's secretary therefore drew up a fulsome petition, expressive only of happiness and affection: the document was signed by forty or fifty Greeks in the pay and about the person of Mustafá-pashá; and this wretched trick was meant to be played off as an expression of the sentiments of the Cretan people, and may, perhaps, have been so regarded by Colonel Campbell.

The Viceroy, after a short stay, caused to be given to the Council of Khaniá instructions for a proclamation, which they consequently published the day after his departure from the island. Some of its most remarkable provisions were the following:—

Two persons acquainted with the laws of Egypt were to act as Commissioners, and to visit each village in the province of Khaniá, with the following objects:—

1. To make a list of the rich and the poor in each village, and to endeavour to effect an arrangement between them, so that the rich man might aid the poor with his money, and the poor the rich with his labour.
2. The members of any numerous families possessing but little property, were to be employed in cultivating the ground of their wealthier neighbours.
3. When the number of labourers was very great in a village to which but little land belonged, they were to go and labour in neighbouring villages.
4. Where grounds were near rivers, the Government was to indicate the most advantageous kind of cultivation.
5. Every one was to sign an undertaking to conform to all these regulations.
6. Lists were to be formed of all members of families not residing with their parents in the country, in order that, if found in the towns, they might be sent to their friends, that they might labour.
7. For all land left uncultivated after the publication of the ordinance, there was to be paid the seventh of that produce which might have been obtained from it, if it had been cultivated in the best way.
8. All persons leaving any part of their land uncultivated, for one, two, or three years, were to be "punished;" and, the fourth year, all their lands were to be taken possession of by a person named by the Government, and only one-fourth of the produce given to the old proprietors.

It must be borne in mind that the present population of Crete is quite inadequate to the cultivation of the country, and that in some parts, for instance, near the great plain of Mesará, formerly of Gortyna, full seven-eighths of the land has never been cultivated since the beginning of the revolution: so that the preceding provisions amounted absolutely to a confiscation of at least half even of the best land in the island.

When these extraordinary regulations were to be executed by two persons acquainted with the laws of Egypt, we need not wonder at the alarm which the publication of them excited. We may, however, be surprised at the persuasion of the Greeks, that a paragraph which ordered the building, near Súdha, of two schools, one for Mohammedan and the other for Christian pupils, was merely a pretext for collecting their children together, that they might all be seized and put on board a ship of war at Súdha, in order to be conveyed to Egypt. Perhaps the paragraph about the schools was merely meant to keep up the Viceroy's character before Colonel Campbell and M. Mimaut, as an enlightened prince, who wished to bring the civilization of Europe into every part of his dominions

Certainly more extraordinary provisions could hardly have been conceived, than some of those of the proclamation; and any one, who is acquainted with the practical working of a Turkish government, will at once see what terror and dismay must have been felt by every Cretan on its publication. The tendency of the measures, if executed by persons "well acquainted with the laws of Egypt," would be to make the Viceroy proprietor of a great part of the landed property of the country, and would thus enable him to apply the Egyptian system to Crete, and to reduce its independent mountaineers to the wretched condition of the fellahs.

These fears and forebodings immediately spread through all the villages in the neighbourhood of Khaniá;

until on Sunday, the 8th of September, an Albanian Bímbashi, (Lieutenant-Colonel,) accompanied by a few men, presented himself in the church of a village, situated on the lower acclivities of the great Sfakian mountains, and about ten miles from the city. Divine service being ended, he read over the proclamation: it was written in Greek, the common language of the island, and was therefore intelligible to his audience. Some of its many extraordinary and alarming provisions elicited an observation from a Christian peasant: the Turk replied to the remark by a blow. Thus began a tumult, which ended in the soldiers being compelled to retire on the city. The peasants descended into the plain which surrounds Khaniá, accompanied by their wives and children, demanding justice. Their assembly became very numerous, and they immediately sent a deputation to the Consuls of England, France, and Russia, at Khaniá, considering that the three nations, which in 1830 had placed them under the government of the Viceroy of Egypt, guaranteeing to them the enjoyment of their property, would protect them against all these alarming innovations. The Consuls suggested, that the best course for them to adopt would be, to return peaceably to their villages, and await the arrival at Khaniá of Mustafá-pashá, the Governor-general of the island, who was then unfortunately absent at Megálo-Kástron. The fears, however, excited in the breasts of the people by the proclamation, were so strong, that instead of dispersing, they constituted themselves a permanent Assembly; and the number of them thus congregated together soon amounted to several thousand men, who dwelt quietly under the trees in and about the village of Murniés, only three miles from the city of Khaniá. They consisted partly of Mohammedans, the fears of the true believers being as completely roused as those of the Christian population. The assembly dispatched memorials to the ambassadors of the three powers at Constantinople, and to the residents at Nauplia; at the

same time determining to remain assembled till they obtained answers from the respective governments to which they thus appealed. The Consuls in vain exerted themselves to persuade the people that the Pashá would satisfy them and remove their fears. No persuasions could induce them to break up their assembly, which, however, was perfectly peaceable, all the men being so completely unarmed, that they did not carry even the long knives which they ordinarily wear in their girdles. A single case of the theft of a few figs or grapes from a neighbouring vineyard, committed by one of them, was severely and publicly punished: and those who from time to time witnessed the order and decorum of their meeting, are unanimous in bestowing on them, at least for this remarkable point in the character of their proceedings, the highest praise.

At length Mustafá-pashá arrived, and soon found, that the people had no longer any confidence in his promises. They remembered the part he had played during the Viceroy's visit, in refusing to present their petition and in getting up a fictitious one in their name: they even called to mind one occurrence in which he had acted without good faith during the war of the revolution, so that all his entreaties, for he repeatedly entreated them to disperse, were useless. Mustafá-pashá in his first proclamation at once renounced the design of building the schools, which alone had caused an incredible alarm, and also that of compelling the people to aid one another in cultivating their lands, leaving however a part of the Viceroy's proclamation, by which the duty on sheep and horned cattle had been abolished, still in force. The Pashá was afraid, with good reason, of converting what we may call the passive resistance of the Cretans, into open revolt, if he had recourse to violent measures, and therefore would not disperse by force this unarmed and peaceable meeting.

Thus an extraordinary spectacle was seen for many days. On the one side was a numerous assembly of

men, most of whom had, for nearly ten years, been inured to every scene of rapine and bloodshed, but who now demanded security for the observance of their *rights*, which they conceived to have been bestowed on them at the time of their transfer to Egypt under the sanction of the allied powers, and who as a means of obtaining their ends were really aiming to exert moral rather than physical force; while, on the other side, was a Turkish Pashá, a native of the mountains of Albania, a great part of whose life had been past in scenes of guerilla warfare, with five or six thousand regular troops and fifteen hundred irregular Arnauts under his command, able to massacre nearly all the people assembled, had he attacked them, but wise and humane enough to pause, and to reflect on the dangers and difficulties which he would have to surmount, if he drove the whole population into actual rebellion. Such an instance of mutual forbearance and prudence, on the part of such people, is certainly very remarkable.

The French Consul greatly exerted himself to induce the Cretans to disperse, but in vain. After the publication, on the twenty-second of September, of a proclamation, the object of which was to induce them to disperse, and in which redress was promised them on almost every point on which they had complained, many were disposed to accede to the Pashá's solicitation; but others were distrustful, and believed that the fine promises now made would soon be disregarded. Not a few of them even held that they were mere *Representatives* sent there, from the various districts of the island, for a special object; and that they had hardly a *right* to dissolve their meeting till that object should be attained, unless with the express permission of their constituents: notions which it is not a little singular to find among these ignorant Cretan peasants. The result of all this, however, was, that the next day the number of the assembly was very considerably diminished.

On the 27th the French brig of war, Le Palinure, arrived at Súdha; the peasants thought she brought

them the French ambassador's answer to their petition: no such thing however was the case, and the Commander spoke to them as the Consuls had done, exhorting them to submission, and assuring them of the groundlessness of most of their fears. This event caused a further diminution of the numbers assembled at Murniés.

A few days later Sir Pulteney Malcolm put into Súdha, in the Britannia, from stress of weather: he told the malcontents, that "the Pashá had made them excellent promises which they ought to accept, since, otherwise, now that they had obtained all they wanted, no one could blame Mehmét-Alí, if he adopted rigorous measures."

On the 4th October the peasants sent a written statement to the English Admiral, before his departure, communicating to him their final determination to remain assembled until they should obtain the answer of the ambassadors. On the 17th of the same month, an Egyptian squadron, consisting of two ships of the line, three frigates, and four or five smaller vessels, arrived at Súdha. The Greeks flocked round the Admiral, their old acquaintance Osmán-Nuredín, (now Osmán-pashá,) who had aided Mustafá-pashá in effecting the pacification of the island in 1830, and entreated his protection.

On the 8th of November the two Pashás went to Murniés, the place where the thousands had been assembled. They were accompanied by about two hundred and fifty foot-soldiers and sixty horsemen. They found scarcely a hundred unarmed peasants, and arrested only five or six of them, and even these individuals they set at liberty almost immediately.

On the 9th the French schooner La Mésange arrived at Súdha, and the Greeks, who supposed it to be the bearer of the French ambassador's answer, were greatly disappointed to learn from its commander, that he was only come to protect Frenchmen and French interests, in case of any disturbance, and could not listen to their complaints.

But few persons now remained assembled, and the meeting had for some time lost that formidable character which it certainly possessed as long as it was the spontaneous assemblage of deputies from every part of the island, and from all classes of both religions; and while the whole population was in consternation and excitement on account of the Viceroy's proclamation. Unfortunately the matter was not allowed to rest here. On the 10th an Egyptian corvette arrived, and landed two hundred men, announcing that four thousand more were on their passage under Ismaél-bey, a young major-general, and nephew of Mehmét-Alí.

It would seem that new orders were received by Osmán-pashá on this occasion; for, the next morning, the two Pashás went out, at the head of a batallion of infantry and a few horsemen, and arrested thirty-three of the peasants who still remained at Murniés. The soldiers had not occasion to use their arms, no resistance being made. The Pashás announced, by a proclamation, that chains would be the punishment of the obstinate men whom they had seized.

On the 14th, three battalions of infantry arrived in ten transports, and every thing remained tranquil. It was at the same time clear, that unless a system less burdensome to the inhabitants of Crete, than that by which Egypt is oppressed, should be adopted, the Cretans would be driven, sooner or later, into real rebellion.

Mehmét-Alí, however, was not yet satisfied, and he ordered the Pashás to put a certain number of the Cretans to death: this he owned to M. Mimaut, the Consul-general at Alexandria, who informed M. Fabreguette, the French Consul in Crete, of the fact; and thus this latter gentleman, knowing what was likely to take place, made strong remonstrances on the spot to both the Pashás. On the 16th of November the Pashás fixed their head-quarters in the plain of Apokórona: they wrote frequently to the Viceroy, endeavouring to obtain a mitigation of his decree, now that the assembly

no longer existed. The representatives of France and England in Crete also wrote to M. Mimaut and Colonel Campbell, with the same view: in what tone those gentlemen remonstrated with the Viceroy of Egypt, I know not.

The whole month of November thus passed away; and, early in December, the fruits of what may perhaps look like the supineness of the European agents at Alexandria, were reaped in almost every district of the island. For Mehmét-Alí, when the Consuls did nothing to stop him, decided on making an example of a certain number of Cretans, in order to strike terror into the rest of their countrymen; and the two Pashás received, while at Fré, the Viceroy's definitive order. They therefore, on the 3d of December, directed that ten of the thirty-three peasants who had been arrested and imprisoned, should be conducted to Murniés, the place of the meeting, and there hanged. It does not appear that any names were given to the soldiers: the number ten was all that was wanted, and it was quite unimportant whether a Demetrius or a Basil, a Selim or an Ismael was taken.

During the previous night, twenty-one other persons were arrested, and executed in different parts of the island. Few of those selected for destruction had been present at the meeting, and it is certain that they were seized simply in such a manner as seemed best calculated to strike terror into the whole population[1].

It was evident that both the Pashás had been compelled to adopt this savage step against every wish and opinion they entertained. When it was taken, Osmán-Nuredín remained a few days longer at Fré, and then went on board a fast-sailing brig, giving orders to his

[1] France is far better represented in Crete than any of the other great powers of Europe: M. Fabreguette had done all he could to avert this blow from the Cretans, and although he failed to do so, perhaps succeeded in diminishing its violence. The details of the executions of seven of the Viceroy's victims are given in Vol. II. pp. 177—180.

squadron to follow him to Egypt. Nevertheless he made sail, not for Alexandria, but for Mytilene, where he landed a few days afterwards, and thence went to Constantinople. It would seem that the indications of savage barbarism of character displayed by the Viceroy with regard to Crete, had no slight share in determining the enlightened Osmán-pashá, who had been entirely educated in Europe, and was the most distinguished Turk in Egypt, to abandon his master.

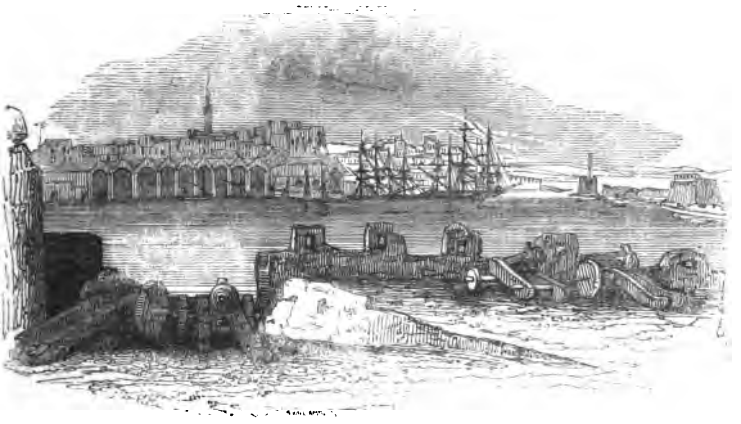
It would be difficult to describe the effect produced on all the inhabitants of the island by these atrocious murders. Every one, even the most peaceable, felt that *he* might have been seized: and this feeling was common to both Christians and Mohammedans.

It has been observed, that Mustafá and Osmán-Nuredín, in one of their proclamations addressed to the people at Murniés, told them that chains would be the lot of those who remained assembled. The Pashás, therefore, it is plain, never anticipated any such sanguinary ferocity on the part of their master. Moreover, of the thirty-three thrown into prison, ten being selected quite at random and hanged, the other twenty-three were *released;* so that, although this truly Oriental justice hangs ten persons, yet it lets twenty-three (who were just as culpable as the others) escape without even the slightest punishment.

Doubtless, if these measures of the Viceroy's Representatives had been anticipated, the Sfakians would have risen in open revolt, and would have been joined by all the inhabitants, of both religions, in the country: but the executions took place simultaneously, and without any one's having expected such a catastrophe.

My reader now knows something of the condition of Crete at the end of 1833, within two months of the time when I landed at Khaniá.

TRAVELS IN CRETE.



KHANIA.

CHAPTER I.

VIEW OF THE WHITE MOUNTAINS. ARRIVAL AT KHANIA. THE RAMAZAN AND CARNIVAL. TOWN OF KHANIA. VENETIAN REMAINS. LION OF SAINT MARK. SAINT TITUS THE PATRON OF CRETE. CONSULS OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS. FESTIVAL OF THE BAIRAM. VISIT TO ISMAEL-BEY. LANGUAGE OF THE CRETANS. THE MOHAMMEDANS OF CRETE DRINK WINE. THE SITE OF CYDONIA DETERMINED.

February 8, 1834.

On entering the gulf of Khaniá I was struck with the grandeur and beauty of the White Mountains, which well deserve the name bestowed on them by both ancients and moderns, and attract the notice of every one who passes the southern promontories of Laconia, either on approaching or leaving the islands of the Egean.

The fame of the Cretan Ida is greater than that of these snow-clad summits, and I had some difficulty

in persuading my companions that the majestic forms before us were not those of the loftiest and most celebrated mountain in the island[1].

At daybreak this morning, we could only just discern the distant outline of the Taenarian promontory: now, we rapidly approached the city of Khaniá[2]; the minarets of which, towering above its other buildings, and conspicuous from afar, were the first sensible object that reminded me of the wide difference between the social scenes which I had left, and those by which I should soon be surrounded.

As the boats of the Hind pulled into the harbour, to land me with my companions, we were asked, in a language the sounds of which I had not heard for

[1] From the neighbourhood even of Cape Matapan it may be possible to see Ida, when the atmosphere is very clear; but many travellers make the mistake of my companions. As Monsieur de Lamartine rounded the Laconian cape, on sailing towards Nauplia, these White Mountains, on which there was undoubtedly no snow when he saw them early in August, drew from him the poetical apostrophe: "Voici les sommets lointains de l'île de Crète, qui s'élèvent à notre droite, voici *l'Ida, couvert de neiges* qui paraît d'ici comme les hautes voiles d'un vaisseau sur la mer." Voyage en Orient, par M. Alphonse DE LAMARTINE, Tom. I. p. 124. SOLINUS, in speaking of Crete, c. XVI. says: "Albet jugis montium—qui ita excandescunt ut eminus navigantes magis putent nubila."

[2] Τὰ Χανιά. It is usually called La Canea by the Italians, who began by calling it Cania, and La Canée by the French. English and German travellers and writers, who have mostly been ignorant of the language spoken in the island, have naturally adopted the Italian name. The old traveller THEVET, Cosmographie de Levant, fol. 28. ed. Anvers, 1556, calls the city Alquenee, a name derived from the sound of *alla* Canea, which he may have heard uttered by Venetians. A very general corruption of the same kind has been produced, in the names of many ancient places, by the Italians, during the middle ages. Thus εἰς τὴν Δία has become Standia; εἰς τὴν Κῶ, Stanchio; εἰς τὴν Λῆμνο, Stalimene; and so forth. The ancient appellations of these places are alone those by which they have ever been known to their inhabitants. An origin of the European barbarism, Stalimene, was suggested, nearly three centuries ago, by BELON, Observations de plusieurs Singularitez etc. fol. 25. Ch. XXV. "Nous trouvons que Lemnos est nommée en Italien Stalimene, de nom corrompu de deux dictions Greques vulgaires, Sto, et Limni: Sto est à dire A, et Limni Lemnos." It is not the words Στὸ Λῆμνι, but Στὴν Λῆμνο, that contain the elements of the corruption. Stanlimene was naturally converted into Stalimene. Constantinople also is still called ἡ Πόλις, or εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, by the Greeks, although the Turks have corrupted the latter expression into the single word Istamból.

several months, whether we had come from a Turkish port; and thus learnt that Mehmét-Alí has bestowed on Crete a sanitary establishment. Coming as we did from Malta, we landed immediately, as, in all likelihood, we should have done, even if we had been from Constantinople[3]. I delivered to the British Consul, Signor Capo Grosso, a native of Spalatro who has resided more than half a century in the Levant, a letter of introduction from the Admiral, Sir Pulteney Malcolm: and I was received by him with even greater demonstrations of hospitality than I could have wished; for he would not hear of my hiring apartments in the city, but insisted on my becoming his own guest.

At sunset a salute was fired from the guns of the fortress, and the minarets of the different mosques in the city were illuminated with numberless lamps.

> Just at this season Ramazani's fast
> Through the long day its penance did maintain;
> But, when the lingering twilight hour was past,
> Revel and feast assumed the rule again.

Similar nightly festivity and revelry were likewise indulged in, during the first days of our stay in Khaniá, by the families of all the Consuls. This year the Carnival of the Catholics, and the Ramazan of the Mohammedans, happen at the same time.

The uniform tranquillity, which now reigns within the walls of this fortified city, is very different from the habitual violence, in which the Mohammedan Khaniótes used to indulge before the Greek revolution. The population is nearly six thousand souls, of whom the Christians and Jews amount to about the seventh part.

The Venetian city dates from A. D. 1252, when a colony was sent to occupy it. The object of the foundation was to keep down the Greeks, who had been in arms, and at open war with their Italian lords, almost without

[3] In Crete a slight quarantine is now imposed on ships of war, but only when from a place where the plague is actually raging.

intermission, from the day when the Venetians first set foot on their shores[4].

As I walked through the streets of Khaniá, the period when Venice possessed the island was often recalled to my mind. The arches seen, in the view of the port and city at the head of the chapter, were designed for Venetian Galleys[5]; and coats of arms are still observed over the doorways of some of the principal houses[6]. Most of the churches, both Greek and Latin, have been converted into mosques: the chapel of San Rocco is however still recognized by the following inscription on the frieze of its entablature:

DEO O. M. ET D. ROCCO DICATVM MDCXXX.

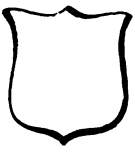
We have here an instance of the not uncommon Roman Catholic custom, of inscribing on a church the name of the Saint to whom it is dedicated. A similar practice existed among the heathen Greeks and Romans, from whom, in all probability, the modern usage has been derived. It would fill a page to enumerate the pagan temples on which were thus inscribed the names both of deities and of those deified mortals whom the

[4] CRONACA VENEZIANA dal Primo Doge Paoluccio Anafesto, cioè dall' anno DCXCV sino al MCCCCXXX. (In this MS. there is a gap from 824 to 1244.) See the Catalogo della Biblioteca Marciana, p. 226. The MS. is numbered Codice XIX. At pag. 27. Del 1252. "Li Greci de l'isola de Candia ano avuto sempre mal animo contra la Signoria de Venetia, non contenti star sotto quela. Cognosando la Signoria de Venetia, la delibero de far una cita fra Candia et Retimo (this is a very great topographical mistake of the Chronicler) per astrenzer li diti Grecj, et cusi fo edifichado la tera de la Cania, et in quel luogo fono mandati molti zentilhomeni ad habitar de li, con le condition che sono mandati li altri zentilhomeni in Candia. Et fato la Cania el primo retor che fo mandado fo Mess. Felipo Zulià (that is Giuliani)." See also CORNARO, or, to use his Latin name, CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. I. pp. 278. & 283. The existing fortifications of the principal cities of Crete were, however, constructed by the Venetians at a much later period.

[5] The lighthouse near the entrance of the port no longer exists: it fell in a stormy night while I was in Crete.

[6] One is accompanied by a date and an inscription:

MVLTA TVLIT FECITQ ET STVDVIT DULCES



PATER SVDAVIT ET ALSIT SEMPER REQVIESCERE NATOS

CIↃIↃCVIII

IDIB IAN.

Saints of the Romish and Greek churches so closely resemble[7].

The following bas-relief and inscription is at a considerable height from the ground, in the Venetian building now used as a military hospital for the regular Arab troops of Mehmét-Alí.

There are few cities in the East, over which Venice has ruled, where the traveller fails to notice the standard of Saint Mark:

[7] It will suffice to refer to SPANHEIM, de Praest. et Us. Numism. Antiq. Diss. XIII. pp. 649—652. I need hardly add LUCIAN, Ver. Hist. I. 32. and II. 3. with the well-known temple of Mylasa, (POCOCKE, Description of the East and some other Countries, Vol. II. Part II. p. 61. ed. Lond. 1745. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor, c. LVI. CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER, Voyage Pittoresque en Grèce, Tom. I. p. 144. LEAKE, Asia Minor, p. 230.) that of Augustus at Assos, and others found in works on the antiquities of the city of Rome. There can be little if any doubt that the letters ΑΜΦΙ, part of an inscription discovered by Colonel Leake, were on the cornice of Amphiaraus's temple: see LEAKE, on the Demi of Attica, p. 202.

The Lion which through fire
And blood she bore, o'er subject earth and sea.

The natives of Crete long considered their own countryman, Titus[8], as their patron Saint. Hence the Venetians, when here, seem to have transferred to him part of that respect which, elsewhere, would probably have been manifested for Mark alone. During the celebration of several great festivals of the Church, the response of the Latin Clergy of Crete, after the prayer for the Doge of Venice, was "Sancte Marce, tu nos adjuva;" but, after that for the Duke of Candia, "Sancte Tite, tu nos adjuva." The prayer for the Metropolitan of the island was not inappropriately followed by the same invocation of St Titus, his archiepiscopal predecessor.

The bronze guns which had been allowed, ever since the Turks acquired possession of the island, to remain on the ramparts both of this city and of the Kástron, have most of them been removed by Mehmét-Alí-pashá, and taken to Alexandria; where doubtless they have already been melted and converted into money.

The several Consulates look on the port, and are distinguished by the flags of their respective countries, which each Consul hoists on Sundays, and whenever a vessel of his own nation arrives, or leaves the harbour. The right of thus hoisting a flag was possessed only by the French Consul, in Crete, till a few

[8] On the point of Titus's Cretan origin the Eastern and Western Churches are not fully agreed. See CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. pp. 189, 190. In a Greek life of him, he is described as nephew of the Proconsul of Crete, and is said to have been sent into Judea by his uncle, who had heard, even in Crete, of the wonders which Christ was performing in that country, and wished to know whether there was any truth in the current reports about them. The author of another legend, not satisfied thus to connect Titus with the Roman Proconsul, describes him as "the son of noble Cretan parents, of the race of Minos." These legends are entitled to about as much credit as the better known falsehood, respecting Pilate's letter to Tiberius, which is equally rejected by the philosophical historian (GIBBON, Decline and Fall, c. XVI.) and the orthodox divine: (Bishop KAYE, on Tertullian, p. 110. 2d ed.)

years ago. Many ineffectual attempts to obtain the privilege were made, from time to time, by persons called the representatives of Great Britain and other powers; but always failed. It was not till the island was, practically, under the authority of Mehmét-Alí, that the British Ensign was unfurled within the Mohammedan city of Khaniá.

At daybreak on the 11th of February the guns of the fortress announced the welcome arrival of the long expected Bairám. Another great religious festival, called by the same name, and which will take place in April, is annually celebrated in remembrance of the sacrifice offered by Abraham[9].

During my stay at Khaniá I became acquainted with most of its European inhabitants. French is the general language of social intercourse in use among them. The only person, however, out of the whole Frank population of the city, whose life had not been almost entirely spent in the Levant, was Monsieur Fabreguette, the French Consul. From this gentleman, and his amiable consort, I received every attention, and with them I spent most of my time. The records of the Consulate throw much light on the history of the Turkish domination; and the facts which they disclose, would alone suffice to justify the revolt of the Christian population of Crete, at the outbreaking of the Greek revolution.

Mustafá-pashá, the Governor General of Crete, resides chiefly at Megálo-Kástron, the principal city of the island. It was celebrated throughout Europe, about a century and a half ago, under its Italian name of Candia, for the heroic resistance which the Venetians made, within its walls, to the then all-powerful and all-conquering arms of the Turks.

The day after the commencement of the Bairám I visited Ismaél-bey, the present Governor of Khaniá,

[9] RELAND, de Religione Mohammedica, p. 109. ed. 1717. It is distinguished from the Ramazán-Bairám as "the Bairám of sacrifice."

accompanied by the interpreter of the English Consul. The Bey is a nephew of the Viceroy of Egypt. I found him, of course, on his divan. He rose to receive me, and was extremely civil. While we were smoking pipes and taking coffee, the conversation turned, as is usual on such occasions, on various unimportant topics. He has lived chiefly at Alexandria, and once began to learn French, with which many Egyptian Turks are somewhat acquainted; but the number of his employments compelled him to abandon it. While I was with him, a most corpulent man, of very lofty stature, Alí-agá-Suftá-Zadé, one of the old Cretan Turks of distinction, came in and walked up to the divan. The Bey rose and saluted him on the right cheek. The Cretan gentleman presented the Governor with a rose, a rarity here, as I am told, at this season, though it is very common in Malta[10]. This Cretan speaks Greek, as is done by all the inhabitants of the island, both Mohammedans and Christians.

I soon found that the whole rural population of Crete understands *only* Greek. The Aghás, who live in the principal towns, also know Turkish; although, even with them, Greek is essentially the mother-tongue. As to the peasant, when he has said *salám aleïkúm*, or replied *aleïkúm salám*, he has exhausted the whole stock of his Mohammedan lore. One consequence of this ignorance of Turkish is, that the language of the places of religious worship is less understood, by the Cretan followers of the Prophet, than the Latin of the Catholic ritual is by the people of France or Italy[11]. Thus also in different parts of Asia Minor, I have found

[10] The words of a Greek song, which I heard in Crete, assign the rose to April: Μάρτι μου μὲ τὰ λούλουδα, Ἀπρίλι μὲ τὰ ῥόδα. The more common modern name is τριαντάφυλλον. On the rose of the ancient Greeks see Dr NOLAN, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. II. pp. 327—351.

[11] I believe the public prayers, in mosques, are usually in Arabic; and thus the poor Mohammedans of Crete are, in fact, doubly removed from the possibility of understanding them.

Greek populations, who were totally ignorant of every language except Turkish, but among whom the services of the Church were still performed, as elsewhere, in ancient Greek[12].

It is not difficult to account for this universal prevalence of the Greek language in Crete. Nearly all the rural population of the island may be said to have a common descent from the Christian Cretans of the middle ages. The worldly advantages, which used to result from embracing Islamism, have induced whole districts to abandon the faith of their forefathers. This effect of the Turkish rule was sensibly felt even by the end of the seventeenth century[13]; and was complained of, by the Archbishop of Gortyna, when Chevalier visited the island[14]. Thus a mere change of religious faith was naturally unaccompanied by any change of language[15].

[12] A similar observation may be made of the Christian populations of many other Eastern countries. See GIBBON, c. XLVII. "The lapse of time has seconded the sacerdotal arts; and in the East, as well as in the West, the Deity is addressed in an obsolete tongue, unknown to the majority of the congregation." The peculiarity, which I found in some towns of Asia Minor, is noticed by CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor, c. LXXIV. At Philadelphia the clergy and laity were equally ignorant of Greek, "yet the liturgies and offices of the church are read as elsewhere, and have undergone no alteration on that account." See also BEAUFORT, Karamania, p. 123.

[13] TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Vol. I. p. 85. "La pluspart des Turcs de l'isle sont renégats, ou fils de renégats." Tournefort visited Crete in 1700, the town of Candia having been taken in 1669.

[14] LOUIS CHEVALIER, Voyage du Levant: (MS. No. 19. in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, at Paris.) "Ces pauvres malheureux (the Greeks) sont si fort vexés et tourmentés par les Turcs, ainsi que me l'a dit à moy-même l'Archevêque de Candie, qu'il y en a eu plusieurs qui se font Turcs pour se redimer de vexation, et pour s'exempter de payer le carache." Chevalier was in Crete from the 24th August till the 6th October 1669. About forty years later an English traveller visited Crete, and says, "There are some villages where the inhabitants, who were formerly Christians, are almost entirely become Mahometans." See POCOCKE, Vol. II. Part I. p. 268.

[15] In the Morèa, on the contrary, most of the Mohammedans were strangers, and real Turks, at all events by descent, although, even there, the apostasy of an entire village has sometimes happened, as at Miráka: see COCKERELL, in HUGHES, Travels in Greece and Albania, Vol. I. p. 189. 2d ed. The apostasy of Crete can only be compared with that of Albania, on which consult LEAKE, Researches in Greece, p. 250.

The same historical fact serves also to account for another peculiarity in the manners of the Cretan Mohammedans, namely, that they all drink wine without the least scruple. The Cretan Greek used to have plenty of excellent wine, at a very slight cost; and had always been in the habit of drinking it before his *conversion:* thus, after he became one of the faithful, he neglected to comply with the practice of the Mohammedans[16]. His children followed him, in this disregard of an unpleasant observance of their adopted religion; and, even to the present day, a Cretan Mohammedan drinks his wine, as unscrupulously as any Christian in the country[17].

It is probable that other characteristics of the social relations between the Mohammedans and Christians of Crete, have been owing to the same cause. It was far from unusual, before the Greek revolution, for a Mohammedan to stand as godfather to the child of his Christian friend. I may instance two persons, whose names were both celebrated in the history of the war in this island, the Mohammedan Agriolídhes, of Dibáki in the plain of Messará, and the Christian Captain Rússos, of Askýfo in Sfakiá, who were thus connected[18]. The frequency of the relation has given rise to a very common mode of address, from a Christian to a Mo-

[16] Some persons may suppose that these neophytes would have been likely to manifest an excess, rather than a deficiency, of zeal for the observances of their adopted religion; but it seems that, elsewhere as well as in Crete, the juice of the grape has been more valued, by such persons, than a reputation for orthodoxy: DE VILLAMONT, Voyages, Liu. III. Ch. XV. fol. 288. ed. Par. 1602. "Ceux qui sont zelateurs et obseruateurs de leur loy, ne boiuent iamais que de l'eau—les autres, qui sont en grand nombre, *signamment des Chrestiens reniez*, boiuent du vin."

[17] TANCOIGNE, Voyage à Smyrne, dans l'Archipel et l'île de Candie, Tom. I. p. 99. "Le turc candiote est peu estimé dans les autres parties de l'empire. Cette mauvaise reputation est fondée, chez les Musulmans, sur sa négligence à observer certains points du Koran."

[18] Σύντεκνος is the word used to denote this relation between the natural and spiritual father of the same child. The Italian epithet *compare*, κουμπάρης, is also used; but σύντεκνος is far more common in Crete.

hammedan, even when no connexion of the kind really exists between them[19].

Although I thought myself sufficiently acquainted with modern Greek when I landed in Crete, yet I discovered, the very first time I spoke with a Cretan peasant, that I was still at a great distance from a knowledge of *his* language: and so numerous are its peculiarities that, for some weeks, I had to spend much of my time in endeavouring to render myself familiar with them. I thought it worth while to do this, since most of the information, of any value, which I hoped to obtain here, could only be acquired by intercourse with those who know no other language than the Cretan[20].

Of other parts of Grece the observation that "their dialects have not so marked a difference, as those of distant provinces in France or England[21]," is undoubtedly true. But, on speaking, for the first time, with a Cretan mountaineer, the Greek of Constantinople would be almost in the situation of a person, who, while familiar only with the *Italian* language, should attempt to converse with an uneducated native of Milan or Ferrara.

Before leaving Khaniá, to travel through the island, I will endeavour to determine whereabouts the ancient Cydonia was situated. Homer speaks of the Cydonians,

[19] "Good morning, gossip," is an expression which I have repeatedly heard a Cretan Christian use, in speaking to a Mohammedan of his acquaintance. The word "brother," so generally used by the Greek in addressing his Christian brethren, is, I think, never thus bestowed on a follower of the Prophet. On this gossipred or compaternity I shall have again to speak.

[20] Several extracts, from three works of Cretan poets of the 16th and 17th centuries, are given by Colonel LEAKE, Researches in Greece, pp. 101—127. Detached portions of the Erotocritos are still known to the Cretan peasantry. I found a copy of the poem at Khaniá. The common language of the island has undergone a considerable change since those poems were written, in consequence of the presence of Turkish Governors in the three chief cities, and, perhaps, of Turkish settlers in their neighbourhood. Many Turkish words are now found in it, and have even got into the mouth of the Sfakians, among whom no Turk has ever dwelt, and who have had extremely little intercourse with the cities.

[21] LEAKE, Researches in Greece, p. 65.

who dwelt about the stream Iardanus[22], but nowhere mentions a city Cydonia. Traditions respecting its origin, all relating to remote ages, though differing among themselves, sufficiently prove it to have existed in very ancient times[23]. And this is confirmed by a well-known passage of a Roman writer[24]. Herodotus, it is true, assigns the foundation of Cydonia to the Samians, who established themselves there, and, during their five years' residence in it, built the temple of Dictynna, as well as those which still existed in the city when the historian wrote[25]. That the Samians adorned the city of which they obtained possession, seems to be clearly shewn by this passage of Herodotus; but the legends, which have been referred to, render it equally certain that Cydonia existed long before the age of Polycrates.

Strabo's notice of Cydonia as "situated on the sea, and looking towards Laconia," points out this part of the coast, as the district in which its site is to be sought for. His statement, that it was distant eight hundred stades from both Cnossos and Gortyna[26], will be of no assistance to us in our attempt to determine its precise position; for the only question deserving of any investigation is, whether it occupied the place of the modern Khaniá, or was inland somewhere hereabouts[27]; and these distances of the Geographer are

[22] HOMER, Odyss. III. 292.

Ἦχι Κύδωνες ἔναιον, Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.

[23] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 78. PAUSANIAS, VIII. p. 707. SCHOLIAST on THEOCRITUS, VII. 12. and the SCHOLIAST on APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, IV. 1492. MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 29, and HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 23.

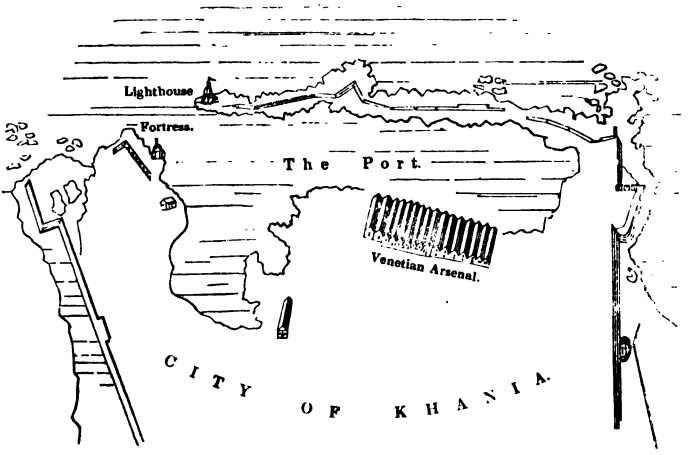
[24] FLORUS, III. 7. "Cnossum et Erythraeam, et, ut Graeci dicere solent, urbium matrem Cydoneam."

[25] HERODOTUS, III. 44. 59. Τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἐόντα νῦν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες, καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν.

[26] STRABO, X. p. 479. Κυδωνία δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ μὲν ἵδρυται, βλέπουσα πρὸς τὴν Λακωνικήν· διέχει δ' ἑκατέρας τὸ ἴσον, τῆς τε Κνωσσοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γόρτυνος, οἷον ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους.

[27] Two other opinions have been advanced: according to one of them, Cydonia was eight or nine miles to the east of Khaniá; the other is entertained by

equally applicable to either situation. An earlier authority than Strabo, Scylax, is somewhat more explicit, and mentions Cydonia as having a harbour which could be closed[28]; an expression which would certainly lead us to place the city on the shore. The port of Khaniá exactly answers to the description of Scylax.



by some living scholars and geographers, who suppose the site to be as many miles to the west of the modern city. The former opinion is totally unfounded, and wholly irreconcileable with all that we learn from ancient authors about the site. As to the latter, it will be soon enough to speak of the ruins which Lapie, in his map of Crete, Mr Gail, in his notes on the Maritime Itinerary, and Dr Cramer, in his Description of Ancient Greece, (Vol. III. p. 366.) lay down as belonging to Cydonia, when I visit the place where they are said to exist.

[28] SCYLAX OF CARYANDA, in Hudson's Minor Greek Geographers, Vol. I. p. 18. or in Vol. I. p. 265. of Mr Gail's edition. Κυδωνία, καὶ λιμὴν κλειστός, πρὸς βορέαν. The expression λιμὴν κλειστός, so frequently used by ancient authors, is well explained by Colonel LEAKE, Topography of Athens, p. 311, and, Travels in the Morea, Vol. II. pp. 436–7, where he concludes, "the ports were thus κλειστοὶ λιμένες, were placed within the walls of a town, and might be closed by a chain." We shall meet with others in the island. I find that, about a century ago, an iron chain used every night to be drawn across the narrow entrance of the port of the Kastron, to prevent the unperceived ingress or egress of any vessel. See Vol. I. p. 34. of PEREGRINUS IN JERUSALEM, Fremdling zu Jerusalem, oder ausfuehrliche Reise-Beschreibungen &c. &c. &c. by P. Angelicus Maria Myller, Ordens der

Maritime symbols are also found on autonomous coins of Cydonia[29]: and both Ptolemy and Pliny mention the town as situated on the sea. The latter author puts it between Minoa and Pergamum, and the former between Minoa and Dictynnaeum; accounts which are perfectly consistent with one another, as well as with what we have learnt from Scylax. The notices of the place in Pomponius Mela, Hierocles, and the Geographer of Ravenna, prove nothing with respect to its situation; but there still remains another most important witness, whose testimony, when added to those already brought forward, will finally decide the question. It is the Author of the Periplus published by Iriarte[30]. We find Cydonia mentioned in it as a city with a harbour, at

der Diener unser Lieben Frauen, Boemischer Provinz, &c. &c. &c. Wien und Nuemburg 1735. He remained thirty days in the Kastron, (p. 33.) and greatly regretted his inability to discover the sepulchre of P. Antonio di Viterbo, the only object of any interest for him which the island contained.

[29] GUSSEME, Diccionario Numismatico Generale, Vol. II. p. 419; also mentioned by RASCHE, Lexicon Rei Numariae, Vol. II. 1137.

[30] REGIAE BIBLIOTHECAE MATRITENSIS CODICES GRAECI MSS. ed. IRIARTE, Matr. 1769. p. 493. or GAIL's Geographi Graeci Minores, Tom. II. p. 498. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκοιτίου (the island of Hághios Theódhoros) εἰς Κυδωνίαν στάδ. ξ'. πόλις ἐστίν· ἔχει λιμένα, καὶ εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον βράχη ἔχει. The last five words are just those which a Greek sailor of the present day would use, if speaking on the same subject; for these βράχη (on which word consult LOBECK, on Phrynichus, Parerga, p. 537.) have preserved their name in modern Greek, and are close to the entrance of the port. Many of the rocks emerge from the water a little to the west of that entrance. When at Khaniá, in the hot weather, I frequently bathed in the sea; and, on account of these rocks, could only do so by rowing half a mile from the mouth of the harbour. Some of them are seen in the plan on the preceding page, as laid down in Boschini's "Pianta della Canea." The entrance to the harbour is so narrow, that any pilot, not well acquainted with it, might easily run his ship aground; as was done, while I was at Khaniá, by a Turkish vessel from Alexandria, which attempted to enter the port two or three hours after sunset. With the express testimony of the Periplus, to the maritime situation of Cydonia, we may compare a passage of GEORGE GEMISTUS, quoted by TZSCHUCKE, on Strabo, Tom. IV. p. 241. Κυδωνία δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ καὶ αὐτή, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις τῆς Κρήτης μέρεσι, καὶ ἐπιθαλαττία. On Gemistus, or Pletho, as he is likewise called, the reader may consult FABRICIUS, Bib. Graec. Vol. XII. pp. 85—101. ed. Harl. VILLOISON, Anecdota, Tom. II. p. 244. SIEBENKEES, on Strabo, Tom. I. p. XXXVI.

the entrance of which there were rocks or shallows: an accurate description of the port of the modern town.

This identity of the actual physical features observed in and near the harbour of Khaniá, with those assigned by ancient writers to Cydonia, must, I think, be admitted as irresistible evidence of the situation of the ancient city.

No one will expect to find remains of walls, temples, or public buildings, constructed in ancient times, in or near a city, which experienced so many vicissitudes of fortune in its middle-age history. The five bastions of Khaniá must alone have sufficed to consume almost every evidence of the locality of Cydonia which existed at the time of their construction. But, although it is in vain that we now endeavour to find traces of the ancient city, either within the walls or in the immediate vicinity of the modern Khaniá[31]; yet I have had the good fortune of discovering, among the manuscripts of the Library of the Arsenal, at Paris, proofs that, in all probability, such vestiges existed less than a hundred and forty years ago. Monsieur Louis Chevalier, President of the Parliament of Paris, who was in Crete in the year 1699, saw, outside of Khaniá, and near the Mohammedan cemetery, remains of mosaic work, which he describes very minutely, and which seem to have belonged to some ancient temple[32].

[31] It is impossible to place any reliance on SAVARY's account, Lettres sur la Grèce, Lettre XXIX. p. 256. I know not what he can have taken for "des restes d'anciennes murailles construites avec beaucoup de solidité;" and cannot but suppose this to be one of the passages, which serve to justify the observation of his friend SONNINI, Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie, Tom. I. p. 349: "Comme voyageur, Savary s'égare au-delà des limites que l'exactitude a posées."

[32] VOYAGE DU LEVANT, etc. par Mr LOUIS CHEVALIER, Tom. I. p. 99. MS. No. 19, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal: "Hors de la ville sur le grand chemin pour aller au port, (he means to the port of Suda, where his ship was lying,) joignant le cimetière des Turcs, qui tient beaucoup de terrain, on voit des restes d'un pavé fait de petites pierres d'un pouce quarré ou environ de diamètre,

Pococke says: "About five miles to the south-south-west of Canea, there is a hill among the mountains, on which there are some ruins: I conjecture that this hill is Mount Tityrus, on which, according to Strabo, the city of Cydonia seems to have been situated[33]."

According to Strabo, Cydonia does not seem to have been situated on Mount Tityros. The words of the Geographer it is impossible to mistake: "In the Cydonian district there is a mountain Tityros, on which there is, not the Dictaean, but the Dictynnaean temple. Cydonia is situated on the sea". Thus the assumption, that the city was built on the mountain, is absolutely contradicted by the very author on whose alleged authority it is made.

Olivier gives a sufficiently accurate account of the wretched ruins of walls which exist on the hill in question[34]; but is greatly mistaken in supposing them to be the remains of an ancient city. They are merely those of a middle-age fortress, and are utterly unworthy of any minute description[35].

I should not have dwelt so long on this dry topographical question, if Pococke's hypothesis had not obtained the assent of a distinguished living scholar, Professor Hoeck[36], to whom every one, who takes an interest in the antiquities of Crete, is under great obligations.

diamètre, de differentes couleurs, et par compartiment. Ce pavé est très bien conservé, et paroit fort ancien. Il y a lieu de croire qu'il y a eu anciemment à cet endroit quelque temple."

[33] POCOCKE, Description of the East and some other Countries, Vol. II. Part I. Ch. III. p. 247.

[34] OLIVIER, Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, Tom. II. Ch. XI. p. 289.

[35] I long put off my visit to them, for, convinced that Strabo's expressions were conclusive as to the site of Cydonia, and not expecting to find ruins of another ancient city at this spot, I inferred that they would prove to be, what I found them, one of the innumerable fortresses which were constructed here in the middle ages, and most of which were built, soon after the Venetians first obtained possession of the island, at the commencement of the thirteenth century.

[36] HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 383.

The power and importance of Cydonia, in all the affairs of Crete, are made manifest by several passages of Polybius and Strabo. At one time she carried on hostilities, single-handed, against both Cnossos and Gortyna[37]. The first engagement between the Cretans under Lasthenes and Panares, and the Roman legions under Metellus, was fought in the Cydonian district[38]. The Romans were victorious, Metellus was saluted Imperator, and laid siege to Cydonia[39]. Now the ancient city, in all probability, obtained most of its water from the same copious source as supplies the modern town. Of this it must doubtless have been deprived, on its investment by the Romans. Hence the account given, of the sufferings from thirst of the besieged Cretans, probably relates solely to the inhabitants of Cydonia[40].

Thus too, in modern times, the Greeks, immediately on acquiring possession of the district round Khaniá, cut off this supply of water, from want of which the city, though peopled only by six or seven thousand inhabitants, greatly suffered[41].

[37] LIVY, XXXVII. 40. "Cydoniatae bellum adversus Gortynios Gnossiosque gerebant."

[38] APPIAN, Cretica, Vol. I. p. 99. ed. Schweigh. Καὶ νικᾷ μὲν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐν Κυδωνίᾳ Λασθένη. Cydonia is also first mentioned by LIVY, Epit. Lib. 98.

[39] PHLEGON, in Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 97. p. 84. Bekk. and the authors last cited.

[40] VALERIUS MAXIMUS, VII. 6. Externa. "Cretensibus nihil tale praesidii affulsit: qui obsidione Metelli ad ultimam usque penuriam compulsi, sua jumentorumque suorum urina sitim torserunt, justius dixerim quam sustentarunt."

[41] CORRESPONDANCE DU VICE-CONSUL D'AUTRICHE (Mons. D'Herculez,) Lettre du 31 Août, 1821. "J'ai été victime de l'epidémie qui regne dans la ville, depuis que les Grecs ont coupé l'eau, et que nous sommes reduits a boire l'eau des puits, qui est salée." Again, under the date of 19 March, 1822: "Ces jours derniers les Grecs ont encore coupé les eaux de la ville—trois cent insurgés ont mis en déroute mille deux cent Turcs, qui étaient sortis de la ville pour protéger la réparation des aqueducs."

CHAPEL AND CEMETERY OF HAGHIA TRIADHA.

CHAPTER II.

VISIT TO HAGHIOS ELEUTHERIOS. DESCRIPTION OF THE MONASTERIES AND GROTTOS OF THE AKROTERI.

SINCE the districts of Crete, which are most likely to be interesting, have been but little explored, I shall notice very briefly such parts of the island as have been sufficiently described by modern travellers. Among these the immediate vicinity of Khaniá may safely be included. The beauties of its plain, which extends from the gate of the city to the Rhíza[1], have been care-

[1] The "Piemonte" of Western Crete; the term includes the whole of the lower northern slopes of the Sfakian Mountains.

fully delineated[2]. I must however speak of some monasteries, and of two natural grottos, in the neighbourhood.

The village of Murniés is somewhat less than three miles to the south of Khaniá, at the foot of the mountains. Near it is the monastery of Hághios Eleuthérios[3], which, as well as Haghía Kyriaké, was formerly a metókhi of Haghía Khrusopeghé. The principal monastery has been long deserted. The society of Hághios Eleuthérios consist of an Abbot or Hegúmenos[4], and five monks. On visiting them I found the Abbot dressed, as is usually the case, in the same simple manner as his brethren. He was delighted to talk Greek with me, and told a long story about a treasure discovered some time ago by Europeans. On visiting the chapel of the convent, I observed not only paintings of the Virgin, Christ, Demétrios, and other Saints, but also a crucifix, consisting of an iron cross with a Christ in high relief on it. I suggested to the worthy Abbot that it was a novelty to see any thing so nearly approaching the practice of the Roman Catholic Church in a Greek place of worship, where paintings alone, and not statues or bas-reliefs, are allowed[5]. He admitted that the thing was prohibited[6], and, in itself, wrong; but added, that the crucifix had been there many many years, and contained within it a piece of the true cross[7]. In an engagement with the Mohammedans, during the revolution, a priest stood with it in his hand. As long

[2] See TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Tom. I. p. 23. SAVARY, Lettres sur la Grèce, Lettre XXXIV. SONNINI, Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie, Ch. XVI—XX. SIEBER, Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. I. p. 129, fol.

[3] Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐλευθερίου. [4] Ὁ Ἡγούμενος.

[5] There is a celebrated picture of the Virgin at Megaspélaeon, which is said to have been made by St Luke, several of whose paintings are seen in Roman Catholic churches. The image "attracts the visits of pilgrims, and makes a great addition to the revenue of the pious establishment." See DODWELL'S Tour through Greece, Vol. II. p. 450. It is said to be made of lentisk wood: BARTHOLDY, Voyage en Grèce, Part. II. p. 21. Fr. trans. The Greeks have two other paintings, which are called works of the same artist: see HARTLEY, Researches in Greece, Ch. XII. pp. 181. 183. and 359.

[6] Εἶναι ἐμποδισμένο τὸ πρᾶγμα. [7] Τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ.

as the affray lasted, balls were whizzing about him, and killing or wounding every one near; but, of course, he remained unhurt. Again, whenever any one possessed by a demon[8] kisses it, the unclean spirit at once leaves him. After recounting to me all its virtues the Hegúmenos himself devoutly kissed the face of the Christ, which is worn away by these salutations, almost as much as the toe of Saint Peter's great statue at Rome, and restored it to its place in the Church.

As to the piece of the true cross which this crucifix is said to contain, it may be observed, that the credulity of the Greeks has enabled their clergy to supply every monastery with some precious reliques: and these of the true cross are numerous enough here, as well as in Catholic countries, to justify Swift's account of "my lord Peter's old sign-post, with nails and timber enough in it to build sixteen large men of war[9]."

About half an hour's walk from the gate of Khaniá is the village of Kalépa, situated on a rising ground not far from the shore. From above this village a beautiful view is obtained. On the spectator's left are seen the noble snow-clad Sfakian mountains, and part of the plain of Khaniá, which also lies extended before him. To his right is the fortified city, with its port and shipping; beyond which the eye, passing over the wide gulf of Khaniá, rests on the Dictynnaean promontory, and observes, still further in the distance, the Corycian cape, which terminates the view.

The road from this spot to the monastery of Haghía Triádha[10] runs near two or three villages, without enter-

[8] Δαιμόνιον. On the casting out of demons, in the primitive Church, see MIDDLETON, Free Inquiry, p. 80; and, on the miracles effected by the simple sign of the Cross, p. 136. 1st edit. A copious account of the order of Exorcists, who became a regular part of the ecclesiastical establishment, even in early times, and could only be ordained by the Bishop, is given in VAN DALE, de Orig. et Prog. Idol. et Superst. Diss. III. c. VII.

[9] SWIFT, Tale of a Tub, §. 4. The wonderful wood was supposed to possess a secret power of vegetation: see GIBBON's ecclesiastical authorities, Decline and Fall, c. XXIII.

[10] Τὸ μοναστήρι τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδας.

ing into any of them. The part of the Akrotéri over which it passes is generally uncultivated, and seems to be barren. There is a great abundance of game, especially red-legged partridges, on it. Haghía Triádha is surrounded by many lofty cypresses, a long avenue of which leads up to the principal entrance of the monastery. The Hegúmenos is a venerable and communicative old man, with whom I had much conversation.

This monastery is most substantially built: the church in the middle of its court is in the form of a Latin cross: its front is ornamented by Doric columns. Over its doorway is an inscription, the words of which are sufficiently appropriate in a convent dedicated to the Trinity[11]. On the frieze of the entablature of this edifice are the capital letters

Β Γ V Θ Τ Π

A conjectural explanation of them may be seen in the note[12], if any one should think it worth looking at. On either side of the doorway of this church is an inscription: to the spectator's left it is in Greek, and to his right in Latin. The purport of both is the same; and is to record the names of the two founders of the monastery[13]. The date affixed at the foot of the Greek inscription is 1634[14], that over the principal entrance

[11] ЄIC ΘC ЄN TPICI KAI TA TPIA ЄN.

[12] *Βάθος Γνώσεως, Ὕψιστος Θεός, Τρισυπόστατος, Παντοκράτωρ.*

[13] PRECLARO ASINVZANCAROLE PRO
SAPIE CRETI HIEREMIAS SAPIENTISSI
MVS ET LAVRENTIVS SOLERTISSIMVS
GERMANI AMBO SACRIFICI ET INI
VGES MAGNA CVM IMPENSA ET A
CRIMONIA TALIA GESSERVNT ILLE
ENIM SVFFICIENTER INCEPTIS LA
BOREM IMPENDIT EVMQVE CON
FECIT HONESTE HIC VERO PROPAGA
TOR ILLIVS VOTI SVPPLEVIT RELI
QVVM ET HOC PERPVLCRVM FV
NDITVS TEMPLVM INSTAVRAVIT.

[14] In the Greek numerals it is ΑΧΛΔ. SONNINI, Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie, Tom. I. p. 358, gives what he thinks proper to call a faithful copy of

into the monastery being 1631. The church was not quite finished when the Turks obtained possession of Khaniá, and thus put a stop to the progress of the building. At the eastern corner of the court is a small chapel, a view of which is seen at the head of this chapter. Under it is the cemetery of the monastery. The graves have nearly all been opened, so that the bones of their occupants lie exposed to view, and each of them "grins horrible a ghastly smile" on his visitors. This profanation of the grave was committed by the Mohammedans, during the revolution, in the vain hope of finding hidden treasure. In an apartment, with which this burial-chamber communicates, dead men's skulls and bones are heaped up to the height of about four feet[15]. Above the doorway of the Golgotha, and in many other places about the monastery, I noticed inscriptions, to some of which a Latin translation is added[16].

The old Hegúmenos assured me that, before the revolution broke out, there were forty Patéres here, and ten more at the different metókhis or farms of the monastery. They had then also thirteen Deacons. Although their arable land was sufficient to employ thirty-five pairs of oxen, eighteen pairs on the akrotéri and the rest in the metókhis, yet, being so numerous

of the Latin, and concludes his observations on it by saying, "mais, en même temps, l'on y a omis précisément l'essentiel, c'est-à-dire, la date;" manifestly shewing that he could not read the Greek characters.

[15] Similar charnel-houses are found in the convents of Mount Sinai and of the Strophades: see BURCKHARDT's Syria and the Holy Land, p. 564, and WADDINGTON, Condition and Prospects of the Greek Church, p. 200. A like custom also prevails at Smyrna, and in some other places, where the corpse is usually allowed to occupy its vault or grave for a twelve-month, and is then transferred to the charnel-house: see HARTLEY, Researches in Greece, c. VIII. p. 120.

[16] Two of them will be an ample specimen:

ΗΓΙΑCΘ ΤΟ CΚΗΝΩΜΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ Ο ΥΨΙCΤΟC.

ΟCΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΘΥCΘΒΗC ΘΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΘΥCΙΑC ΠΡΟCΑΓΕΙΝ ΕξΙΑΑCΜΟΥ ΠΘΡΙ ΤΗC ΤΩΝ ΤΕΘΝΗΚΟΤΩΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑC.

A learned friend suggests to me that the first of these inscriptions is taken from PSALM, XLV. 2. and the second from 2 Maccabees, XII. 46.

a body, they were always obliged to purchase corn. The produce of oil annually sold by them may have amounted, according to the Hegúmenos, who is not likely to exaggerate their wealth, to nearly two thousand místata. The present number of Patéres is ten[17].

The four monasteries of Haghía Triádha, Hághios Ioánnes, Hághios Eleuthérios, and Goniá, pay conjointly six hundred piastres yearly to the Patriarch at Constantinople. They also make an annual present to the Diocesan, but its amount is not defined[18].

I was told by the Hegúmenos, that when the head of Saint John the Baptist was brought to Herod, who was seated at table with a large dinner-party, it leapt from the charger. Fear fell upon every one present, and they were all attacked by a fever, which did not leave them till they addressed their prayers to the Saint.

The Greek is greatly shocked at the Catholic observance of Friday and *Saturday* as fast-days[19], while he mortifies the flesh on *Wednesday* and Friday. It was on a Wednesday that Judas received a bribe to betray his master, and on a Friday that Christ was crucified.

In this monastery the wine which we obtained was excellent. The district of Cydonia must have been celebrated for its wine in ancient times, for we find on many of its coins a bunch of grapes[20], or the head

[17] TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Tom. I. p. 31, found less than 50 of them: SONNINI mentions 12, and SIEBER 18.

[18] Μικρὸν πρᾶγμα—ὅτι θέλομεν.

[19] The observance of Saturday as a fast-day is one of the heresies with which the Church of Rome was charged by the Patriarch Photius, and on account of which he deposed and excommunicated the successor of Saint Peter: see GIBBON, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, c. LX. and the ecclesiastical authorities there quoted; and WADDINGTON, History of the Church, c. XII. Saturday has always been a *festival* in the Oriental Church: see BINGHAM, Antiquities of the Christian Church, B. XX. c. III. §. I.

[20] PELLERIN, Recueil de Médailles, Tom. III. Pl. XCIX. fig. 39. NUMISMATA CIMELII VINDOBONENSIS, Tab. XIV. fig. 16. p. LXXXII. NUMI MUSEI HUNTERIANI, Tab. 23. fig. 8. NUMI MUSEI BRITANNICI, Tab. VIII. fig. 9. MIONNET, Description de Médailles, Tom. II. p. 273. SESTINI, Museo Hedervariano, Vol. II. p. 152. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 178.

of Dionysos[21]. Some of them also exhibit a female head adorned with a chaplet of vine-leaves[22]. I found a beautiful silver coin of Cydonia, in the possession of the interpreter of the French Consulate, and the female head seen on its obverse, was thus ornamented.

Somewhat less than three miles from Haghía Triádha, towards the end of the promontory, and in the midst of its highest elevations, is the monastery of Hághios Ioánnes. The building of its church had only just been commenced when the Turks obtained possession of Khaniá and has never since been proceeded with. Half a mile further is "the cave of the bear[23]," at the entrance of which is a little chapel.

The name of this cavern is derived from a resemblance between the form of a piece of rock within it and that of a sitting bear. I wonder that no ancient legend should have been attached to this natural object, as was done to the fancied figure of a weeping woman on Mount Sipylos[24]. And this is the more surprising,

[21] GOLZIUS, Nomismata Insularum Graeciae, Tab. VI. fig. 9. NONNIUS, Comment. pp. 223 and 224. HARDOUIN, Numi Antiqui Illustrati, p. 87. GUSSEME, Diccionario Numismatico Generale, Tom. II. p. 419, describes the obverse of a coin of Cydonia: "Cabeza de Baco coronada de pámpanos." MIONNET, Tom. II. p. 272.

[22] GOLZIUS, l. c. (perhaps) NUMI MUS. HUNTER. Tab. 23. f. 1, 2. RASCHE, Lexicon Rei Numariae, Tom. II. 1135. Supplem. Tom. II. 318. MIONNET, l. c. Among the medals of the Ducal Cabinet at Modena, in inspecting which I experienced the most courteous attention from its learned Prefetto, D. Celestino Cavedoni, there is one of which I made this note: Caput muliebre ad s. pampinis vel corymbis redimitum ΗΝΩΔΥΧ. Vir nudus ad s. stans arcum tendit Ꞧ. I fere. See also ECKHEL, Doctrina Numorum Veterum, Vol. II. p. 310.

[23] Τῆς ἀρκοῦδας τὸ σπήλαιον. These mountains are hence called Ἀρκουδοβουνά.

[24] Described by CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor, Ch. LXXIX. See also WISDOM, X. 7. JOSEPHUS, Antiq. I. II. 4. Ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν διαμένει. VON BOHLEN, Genesis, p. 213. There is an appearance in stone, somewhat like the shape of a woman, in a cavern in Somersetshire, where it is supposed to be a base and wicked elfe, "the witch of Wokey hight."

The ghastly hag he sprinkled o'er:
When lo! where stood a hag before,
Now stood a ghastly stone.

See

since we find a tradition that two Cretan nymphs, Helice and Cynosura, who were nurses of the infant Zeus, were afterwards changed into bears; and were ultimately raised to the skies as the constellations which are still known by their names[25].

At a distance of half a mile from the cave is a secluded spot in which the deserted monastery of Katholikó is situated. Near it is a beautiful grotto, to the entrance of which we are brought by a descent of about a hundred and forty steps, many of them cut out of the steep rocks on the southern side of the glen. Its height varies from ten to fifty or sixty feet: it is nearly five hundred feet long[26]: it penetrates into

See PERCY, Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, Vol. I. Book III. 15. A legend of the same kind accounts for the existence of a statue, among the ruins of Seleucia, on the western bank of the Tigris. An improper attachment once existed between a brother and sister, "and God, to punish them, turned them to stone." KEPPEL, Journey from India to England, Vol. I. c. VII. In a vale near Marathon, Chandler saw an ancient statue of a woman, who once defied Heaven, and, for her impiety, was hardened into stone. "The grave Turk cites the woman of Nonoï," (*Oenoe:* see LEAKE, Researches, p. 420. and on the Demi of Attica, p. 163.) "to check arrogance, and enforce the wisdom of a devout and humble disposition." Her fold and flocks shared her fate, and "the rocky crags afford, at a certain point of view, the similitude of sheep and goats within an enclosure or fold." CHANDLER, Travels in Greece, c. XXXVI. Many similar legends, both ancient and modern, which have arisen from the shape of natural objects, might also be mentioned.

[25] ARATUS, Phaenomena, 30.

Εἰ ἐτεὸν δή,
Κρήτηθεν κεῖναί γε, Διὸς μεγάλου ἰότητι,
οὐρανὸν εἰσανέβησαν.

ERATOSTHENES, Catast. II. Ἀγλαοσθένης δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ναξικοῖς φησι, τροφὸν γενέσθαι τοῦ Διὸς Κυνόσουραν· εἶναι δὲ μίαν τῶν Ἰδαίων νυμφῶν— Ἄρατος δὲ αὐτὴν καλεῖ Ἑλίκην ἐκ Κρήτης οὖσαν. γενέσθαι δὲ Διὸς τροφὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν οὐρανοῖς τιμῆς ἀξιωθῆναι. The intermediate transformation into bears is mentioned in the Parisian Scholia on Apollonius Rhodius, I. 941. Ἄρκτων μιν καλέουσιν ὄρος. καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὰς τροφοὺς τοῦ Διὸς ἐκεῖ εἰς ἄρκτον μεταμορφωθῆναι ἢ κ.τ.λ. The same legend respecting Cynosura is also related, on the authority of Aglaosthenes, by HYGINUS, Poet. Astr. II. 2.

[26] I measured it and found its length from the Hághion Béma to the entrance 430 feet: beyond the altar is about 40 feet more: it is greatly overstated by POCOCKE, Vol. II. Part I. p. 263. at "near a quarter of a mile." The assertion of a French traveller, SONNINI, Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie,

the mountain in a southerly direction: and its sides consist of varied and beautiful stalactites. Some of them form, as it were, columnar supports for the roof of the cavern; many are quite transparent, and others are brilliantly white. Their effect however is certainly not to be compared with that of the grotto of Antiparos, although, even here, they are in many places extremely beautiful.

Pococke says that this grotto exceeds all he ever saw in the beauty and slenderness of the pillars. On the rocks about it I observed the dictamnon, so celebrated among physicians[27], naturalists and poets. According to Theophrastus and Pliny it was found only in Crete[28].

quie, Vol. I. p. 382. "l'on peut aisément y faire *près d'un mille de chemin* avant d'arriver au fond," must be a wilful exaggeration, and is certainly a very gross one.

[27] HIPPOCRATES frequently prescribes it: see the passages in MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 110.

[28] THEOPHRASTUS, H. P. IX. 16. Τὸ δὲ δίκταμνον, ἴδιον τῆς Κρήτης—τοῦτο μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη, θαυμαστὸν ἅμα καὶ ἴδιον τῆς νήσου. PLINY, N. H. XXV. 8. "Dictamnum non est alibi quam in Creta." Passages, in which other medicinal herbs of the island are mentioned, have been collected by the diligence of MEURSIUS, Creta, II. 11.

H. Schranz del. L. Haghe lith.

Day & Haghe Lith.rs to the King

KATHOLIKO.

J. Murray, Albemarle St.

Another plant, which has been common for ages in most parts of Europe, was once peculiar to this island. It is generally known that the quince-tree derived its Greek name from the Cretan Cydonia, in the district of which city it was indigenous, and whence it was transported into other countries[29].

A few paces below the mouth of the cavern is a small church cut out of the solid rock: near it are the former abodes of the monks. The bridge thrown across the ravine is spoken of, by Pococke and Sonnini, as fifty feet high. I observe an opening in it, leading into a solitary cell, which is said to have been used by the monks as a place of imprisonment and punishment for any sinning member of their society. On the opposite side of the ravine, from which the view was taken, are ruins of several solitary huts, supposed to have been used as hermitages, until the church and monastery of Katholikó were abandoned. This wild and sequestered spot is very near the head of the valley, and is not above a thousand paces from the sea. Many Greek monasteries are picturesque and beautiful objects; but I can recal to my recollection no place so well suited for those, who may have desired "remote from man with God to pass their days," as this glen, with its

> Steep and lofty cliffs,
> That on a wild secluded scene impress
> Thoughts of more deep seclusion.

[29] PLINY, N. H. XV. 11. "His proxima amplitudine mala, quae vocamus cotonea, et Graeci cydonia, ex Creta insula advecta." NICANDER, Alex. 234. Τότε βλοσυροῖο Κύδωνος, κεῖνο φυτὸν Κρήτηθεν. MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 107. TZSCHUCKE, on Pomponius Mela, Vol. III. Part II. p. 818. See also JULIUS POLLUX, VI. 47. and HESYCHIUS, both mentioned by WYTTENBACH, on Plutarch, Praecept. Conjug. p. 138. d. The fruit was called κοδύμαλον in the ancient Cretan dialect: HERMON, in ATHENAEUS, III. p. 81. f. and HESYCHIUS, under the word.

FORTRESS AND BAY OF SUDHA.

CHAPTER III.

FROM KHANIA TO PALAEOKASTRON NEAR THE BAY OF SUDHA. EFFECTS OF VENETIAN MISGOVERNMENT. CRETAN AND MOLOSSIAN DOGS. CRETAN CHARACTER.

February 16, 1834.

We started from Khaniá about noon, and traversed the plain by which the city is surrounded, and the greater part of which, in the direction of Súdha, was stript of its olives when Ibrahím-pashá landed here with his troops, in January 1825, on his way from Egypt to the Moréa[1]. Half a mile before we arrive at the Salt-pans, which have changed their Italian name Saline

[1] The swamp near Súdha (ἡ Σούδα, on the etymology of which word see below, p. 189.) was selected for the encampment of the troops, and, in consequence, about one fifth of them died in the island. Ibrahím sailed for the Moréa on the 19th February 1825: see a letter written at Khaniá, and published in a contemporary Journal, and MADDEN, Travels in Turkey, Egypt, &c. Vol. I. p. 174–5.

into the Turkish Túzla[2], the ground becomes a marsh, and would be impassable but for the aid afforded us by portions of an old paved road, doubtless the work of the Venetians. The marsh is about three miles in circumference, and is said to abound in snipes. After passing the head of the bay we wound along the north-western acclivity of Mount Maláxa[3], and again found considerable remains of the Venetian paved way, which was in fact our only road for nearly two miles; no labour seems ever to have been bestowed on it since the Turks obtained the island, so that it is, in general, a far worse road than an unpaved path would be.

The rock of Súdha, which is a conspicuous object during most of the ride, is said to have served as a constant receptacle for corsairs, during the sixteenth century[4]; and was also used as a landing place in 1571, by Turkish troops, some of whom ravaged the territory of Khaniá, while others sacked and burnt the town of Rhíthymnos[5]. The Venetians therefore prudently determined to fortify the islet[6]; and, in consequence, retained it, with Spina Longa and the almost impregnable castle of Grabúsa, during many years after the whole island of Crete had been acquired by the Turks.

The events which were caused by this hostile descent on the district of Khaniá and the town of Rhíthymnos, serve to throw light on the the Venetian government of the island.

The Greek peasants of the neighbourhood of Rhíthymnos supposed, at that time, that certain nobles were

[2] Salt in Turkish is تۇز *tus*. The name, which has here usurped the place of an Italian word, has elsewhere replaced an ancient Hellenic appellation, as in the Troas: LEAKE, Tour in Asia Minor, p. 273. fol.

[3] Ἡ Μαλάξα.

[4] FOSCARINI, Relatione ec, fol. 6. "Li anni addietro ricetto e nido di corsari."

[5] CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. II. p. 427. FOSCARINI, l. c. and fol. 11. "Rettimo è del tutto rovinato dall' incendio che seguì la passata guerra."

[6] FOSCARINI, fol. 7.

preparing to take signal vengeance on them for the violent death of a Cavaliere, which had just happened: and, on this account, they sent a deputation to the Turks at Súdha, whom they hailed as their deliverers from the cruel tyranny of their Venetian lords[7].

Another Venetian writer assigns these practices of the Greeks with the Turks at Súdha, simply to their general oppression by the Cavalieri, and to the extreme despair to which it reduced them[8]. Their dealings with the Turks seem to have produced at least one good effect, in awakening the Venetian senate, not perhaps to a sense of justice, but, at all events, to one of policy; for the Proveditor Foscarini was soon afterwards dispatched from Venice, to enquire into the real condition of the Cretan people. His extremely interesting Report is still in existence[9], and presents a melancholy picture of systematic oppression and legalized iniquity, on the part of both the privileged order of nobles and the local government.

Foscarini seems not only to have been endued with a high sense of honour, and a love of virtue, but also to have possessed every requisite intellectual endowment for the due accomplishment of his important duty; and his Report also shews him to have been most diligent in his researches. After detailing to the Venetian senate the various acts of fraud and oppression, to which the whole mass of the people were subjected, he says "the cavalieri had reduced the peasants to a worse condition than that of slaves, so that they never dared *even to complain* of any injustice[10]."

[7] FOSCARINI, fol. 110.

[8] MS. No. 766, of the Raccolta Correr at Venice, fol. 39.

[9] It is entitled Relatione dell' Illmo Sig^r Giacomo Foscarini, Proveditor General, Inquisitor, e Sindico, nel regno di Candia, del 1576. The copy which I consulted is contained in the Raccolta Correr.

[10] FOSCARINI, fol. 110. "Con questi mezzi essi cavalieri fanno li villani più che schiavi, che non ardiscono mai dolersi di cosa ingiusta." THEVET also, writing a little earlier, speaks of the Cretans, Cosmographie de Levant, fol. 26, as "menans une tresmeschante et du tout desplorée façon de viure, qui

Libertas pauperis haec est:
Pulsatus rogat, et pugnis concisus adorat,
Ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.

Little change was however produced in the condition of these subjects of the Venetian aristocracy, in consequence of Foscarini's generous and indignant denunciation of the cruelty and impolicy of the adopted system of government, and of the tyrannical proceedings of the petty nobles whom it tolerated. This may easily be inferred from the fact, that a member of the "Syndicate of the Levant," Giulio de' Garzoni, made a similar Report to the Senate in 1586, ten years after that which was the result of Foscarini's mission. This Syndic bears express testimony to the fact, that all the inhabitants of the island, except of course the tyrannizing and degraded privileged class, longed for a change of government, and even preferred "the tyrannical domination" of the Turks, to that which the Venetians exercised over them[11].

At length we began to leave the bay of Súdha, and to pass the ridge: as soon as we reached its summit we saw the plain of Apokórona spread out before us. It is bounded on the south by the eastern half of the White Mountains[12], the outline of which is very bold

qui cause en eux vn merueilleux desir de liberté. Car ilz sont tellement serfs aux Veniciens qu'ilz ne possedent ne iouissent sinon de ce qui leur est de grace concedé par lesdis Signeurs."

[11] GARZONI, Relatione del Sindicato del Levante nel 1586, in the MSS. of St Mark's Library, CLASSE VII. CODICE CCCIV. It is worth while to give two or three brief extracts: p. 18. "Con questi et altri pretesti, di sopra discorsi, se ben per decreto publico è levato il nome della Parichia, convengono vivere *nella medesima soggezione.*" p. 19. "Sì che il contadino, di questa maniera vessato, et per tante parti stracciato, impresso dai ragionamenti de' papati, *è fatto nemico del nome Veneto*—et è ridotto a tale, per le cose dette, che credo poter dire con verità, escludendo però li privilegiati, che *desiderano mutazione di governo;* et sanno non poter capitare in mano d' altri che del Turco; nondimeno, credendo non poter peggiorare di stato, *inclinano anco a quel tirannico dominio.*"

[12] The Λευκὰ ὄρη of Strabo: they are now called, either by their ancient title in modern Greek, τὰ ἄσπρα βουνά, or, from their inhabitants, τὰ Σφακιανὰ βουνά. Crete is the only part of Greece in which I have noticed the old word

and beautiful: they are entirely covered with snow. Immediately on commencing the descent, towards the plain of Apokórona, we turned to our left, in conformity with directions obtained from some peasants whom we had met, and soon saw two ancient tombs; sure indications of our approach to the Palaeókastro, to which I was endeavouring to find my way. They were hewn out of the rock, which is soft and calcareous, and, like the stone of Malta, is full of imbedded shells. One of them was a chamber containing resting-places for three occupants, the other had served for four. Scarcely had we passed these tombs before we met a kalógheros[13], whose Greek shewed at once that he was not a Cretan; and from whom I learnt that we should find a lodging for the night in a monastery or rather metókhi[14], belonging to the great convent of Hághios Ioánnes the Theologian[15], at Pat-

word ὄρη as still in common use: it here denotes the loftier parts of any high mountains.

[13] I shall not attempt to anglicize any such names, peculiar to the country, but shall always use the Greek word, without deviating from the rule even where it may have been clothed in an English dress, and rendered familiar to English readers, by writers who are generally read; as has happened in the case of kalógheros, which has become caloyer, both with us and the French. The kalógheros at present, in almost every part, is scarcely raised a single step above the mere peasant: very few of them can read: they are in fact distinguished, from any other labourers, solely by their having made a vow of celibacy, by letting their beards grow, and by living in their monastery. A person can become a kalógheros at any age, and the lame, or infirm, do actually avail themselves of this facility in many cases, becoming kalógheri, and living comfortably within the quiet walls of the monastery all the rest of their lives. Their situation might certainly be envied by the inmates of a poor-house in more densely peopled countries. The πατέρας is also called ἱερομόναχος, and this class is supposed to be the most learned in the oriental church. They can all read and can write a little: but few of them can spell three consecutive words without blundering: in fact they learn to write, as a necessary qualification, when boys, and having no duties to discharge beyond those of reading the morning and evening service in the chapels of their convents, the ability to write is little more than a useless accomplishment, except for the Hegúmenos, who keeps the accounts of the society.

[14] Μετόχι.

[15] The two Johns are called by the Greeks ὁ πρόδρομος, and ὁ θεόλογος, instead of the Baptist and the Evangelist as we designate them.

mos. The kalógheros was sent here, about a year ago, along with a patéras, to superintend the management of the land and olives possessed by that society in Crete, and which had been entirely abandoned and uncultivated during the whole war.

We soon arrived at considerable remains of the walls of an ancient city, and I partially examined them; but sunset put a stop to my researches, and I was glad to hasten to find out the patéras at the metókhi. On approaching it my ears were saluted by the loud barkings of several dogs: they continued to shew their dislike for strangers, who wore dresses which they were so little used to, for some time after we were settled among them. These Cretan dogs are not so ferocious as those of Albania, where the ancient Molossian breed seems to be preserved, in all its purity[16], to the great discomfort of European travellers[17]. The Cretan animals are all of one race, and are peculiar to the island. Tournefort calls them "des lévriers bâtards[18]." They are smaller than the greyhound, and have a longer and rougher coat of hair[19]: their head is somewhat like that of the wolf: they follow their game by scent, and are very sagacious animals, resembling, in every respect, the lurcher rather than the greyhound. I feel no doubt that these dogs are the undebased descendants of those mentioned by ancient authors[20].

[16] AELIAN, N. A. III. 2. Θυμικώτατος δὲ κυνῶν Μολοσσός, ἐπεὶ θυμωδέστατοι καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες.

[17] For instance to that of Mr HUGHES, Travels in Greece and Albania, Vol. I. c. XVI. and c. XVII. pp. 489, and 501. 2d ed. The animal is a constant source of annoyance to all travellers in that country.

[18] TOURNEFORT, Tom. I. p. 95.

[19] CLAUDIAN, Cons. Stilich. III. 300.

Hirsutaeque fremunt Cressae, tenuesque Lacaenae.

[20] AELIAN, N. A. III. 2. Κύων Κρῆσσα κούφη, καὶ ἀλτική, καὶ ὀρειβασίαις σύντροφος· καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὶ Κρῆτες τοιούτους αὐτοὺς περιδεικνῦσι, καὶ ᾄδει ἡ φήμη. LIBANIUS, quoted by MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 95. Τῶν Κρητῶν κυνῶν αἱ ῥινηλατοῦσαι. Hence they are spoken of along with those of the Spartan breed, which were celebrated for following well by scent, (LOBECK, Comment. ad Soph. Ai. v. 7.) in many passages of ancient authors.

The celebrated dog of Cephalus, to which those of Molossis and Chaonia were proud to trace their pedigree[21], was supposed to have been obtained, by Procris, from Minos[22], the mythical king of this island: a fact which alone shews how celebrated the Cretan breed must have been in times of remote antiquity.

I had every reason to be pleased with the kindness and hospitality of my reverend host, although his means of displaying his excellent disposition towards us were very limited. The furniture of his room consisted of a bed, a table, and two rude chairs: but my travels in Albania had taught me to consider even beds, tables, and chairs, as the peculiar possessions of those who are surrounded by the other comforts of civilized life; and as ordinarily unattainable by the traveller, while he is exploring the most interesting countries of antiquity.

The venerable priest thought it very odd that I should speak Greek fluently; and had great difficulty in understanding, what he seemed very anxious to learn, how I could leave "Lóndhra"[23], which is commonly used both by Turks and Greeks of all parts, as synonymous with England, to travel in these districts.

On my enquiring for coins the peasants gave me such as they possessed: they had found them in tilling the ground about the monastery: more than half of those which I obtained were of Aptera. The prices asked by coin-finders in most parts of Greece is so high as to cause considerable difficulty to those who wish to purchase them. Here the peasants would not even

[21] JULIUS POLLUX, v. 5.

[22] APOLLODORUS, Biblioth. II. 4. 7. Τὸν κύνα δν Πρόκρις ἤγαγεν ἐκ Κρήτης παρὰ Μίνωος λαβοῦσα. ERATOSTHENES, Catast. XXXIII. Ἀμφότερα δὲ ταῦτα Μίνως ἔλαβε· καὶ ὕστερον—ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῇ. ANTONINUS LIBERALIS, c. XLI. Ὁ Μίνως διδοῖ τῇ Πρόκριδι τὸν ἄκοντα καὶ τὸν κύνα· τούτους δὲ οὐδὲν ἐξέφυγε θηρίον. HYGINUS, Poet. Astr. II. 35. For the variations in this legend consult the authorities quoted or indicated by HEINSIUS, on Ovid, Met. VII. 754. and VERHEYK, on Antoninus Liberalis, l. c.

[23] Λόνδρα.

name a price, but told me to give them what I thought the things were worth, since I knew their value better than they did. One of them possessed a small marble hand which he also gave me. It was not difficult to find out that I was among a very different people from those with whom travellers become acquainted in following the commonly frequented routes in Greece and Asia Minor; and I began to suspect that, whatever the ancient Cretans may have been, from the time of Polybius to that of St Paul, the present race can hardly deserve the bad character bestowed on their ancestors.

A boy of about ten years of age, a nephew of the old priest, tells me that the Cretan labyrinth was one of the seven wonders of the world, in the time of the ancient Hellenes, and that these seven wonders correspond to the seven sacraments of the Christian church[24]. Our fare this evening, after I had had a long chat with the priest, consisted of ricemilk[25], Sfakian cheese[26], a few onions[27], some barley bread[28], and as much water[29] as we wished.

[24] His words were *ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἔχουν τὰ ἑπτὰ μυστήρια, ἔτσι οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶχαν τὰ ἑπτὰ θεάματα, δηλαδὴ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εἰς τὴν Ἔφεσον*, &c.

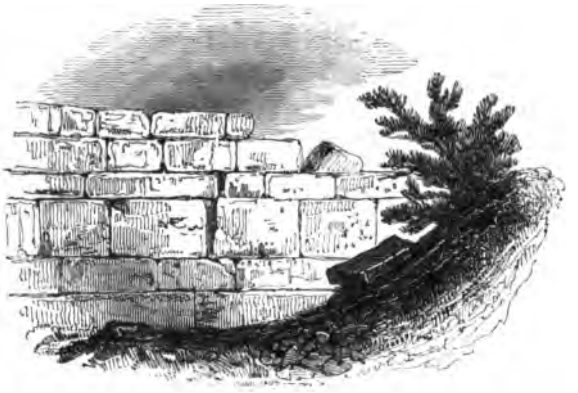
[25] *ρυζόγαλα.*

[26] *Σφακιανὸν τυρίον*, pronounced *Σφακιανὸ τυρί.*

[27] *κρομμύδια.*

[28] *κριθινὸ ψωμί.*

[29] *Νερό.* On the derivation of this word from the ancient *νηρὸς* or *ναρὸς*, the latter of which occurs in fragments of both Aeschylus and Sophocles, see VILLOISON, Histoire de l'Académie des Inscr. Tom. XXXVIII. p. 63, (quoted by HOBHOUSE, Journey through Albania, Vol. II. p. 1093. 2d ed.) and LOBECK, on Phrynichus, p. 42. In Lycophron, 896. *ἐν χθονὸς νηροῖς μυχοῖς*, most MSS. have *νειροῖς*, which is adopted by Bachmann. Professor LOBECK, l. c. mentions the modern Greek usage of *νερὸν* to defend the words of the Great Etymologicon, *καὶ ἴσως ἡ συνήθεια, τρεψαμένη τὸ ᾱ εἰς ε̄, νερὸν λέγει*, against PAUW's unnecessary conjectural emendation. KORAY, ATAKTA, Tom. IV. p. 349. after quoting Phrynichus, Hesychius, Photius, and the Etymologicon, says: *ἤκουσα Θέσσαλον νὰ τὸ προφέρῃ, ἀκόμη σήμερον, νηρόν.*



CHAPTER IV.

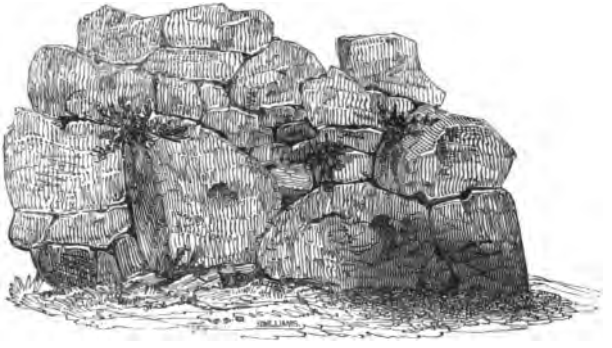
DESCRIPTION OF THE RUINS AT PALAEOKASTRON. DISCOVERY OF A SARCOPHAGUS, A STATUE, AND ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS. POLITICAL POWER OF THE CRETAN DEMOS. DETERMINATION OF THE SITES OF MINOA, AMPHIMALLA, APTERA, AND KISAMOS. LEGEND RESPECTING THE SIRENS AND THE MUSES, AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE ISLANDS LEUCAE WITH THE ROCKS OF SUDHA. ORIGIN OF THE ERROR RESPECTING THE SITE OF APTERA EXPLAINED. COINS OF APTERA. MOUNT BERECYNTHOS, AND METALLURGY OF THE IDAEAN DACTYLS.

February 17.

EARLY this morning I recommenced my examination of the ancient remains. The monastery is in the midst of them, and is not far from the centre of the ancient city. At a little distance to the south and south-west, I saw traces of two public buildings where several fragments of shafts of columns, one of which was fluted, were lying near the foundations of walls. To the north-east of the monastery like vestiges of another ancient

edifice are noticed: and a little to the eastward similar fragments of columns indicate the sites of three or four other buildings. Not far from these remains I found, on a subsequent visit to the spot, a theatre, which, not having been cut out of the living rock, as most of the Greek theatres are, had lost, as it seemed to me, about two-thirds of its original size, by the degradation of the soil above and around it: sufficient however remained to shew plainly that it was the theatre of the ancient city. To the north of the monastery, and at some little distance from it, near the edge of the descent towards the gulf, are several pieces of columns, one of marble, and two fragments of a bas-relief. Of the outer walls, on the southern and western sides of the city, I saw something last night. From an ancient entrance, which I then passed, on my way to the monastery, they extend about 600 paces towards the gulf, to the north-western point of the city: and, since they are on the brow of the hill, all the ground within their circuit is tolerably level. From the same entrance I also follow the wall in the eastern direction, in which I find that it runs about 240 paces, accommodating its course to the nature of the ground, and changing it so as to remain always close on the brow of the descent. This part was the best preserved: a piece of it was sketched, and is seen on the opposite page. After these 240 paces the ground is rocky, and the declivity of the hill becomes an escarpment, so that, perhaps, the wall was never continued any further. From the style of the remains I should suppose the construction of these walls to have taken place before the Roman conquest of the island. Returning now to the north-westerly point of the city, which is more than a mile further up the gulf than the islet of Súdha, I find the wall is continued, though but slight remains of it exist, right along in a direction parallel to the shore, and extending, I should think, near three quarters of a mile. Other traces of walls are also seen on the site, although

the ground offers no great difference of level. But the most remarkable object of this kind which I found, remains to be described: it is seen about half a mile to the north-east of the metókhi, and consists of considerable remains of walls, the stones of which are polygonal: their massiveness gives them almost as good a claim to admiration as those of Tiryns itself. This portion of them, of which I made a sketch, is nearly thirteen feet high.



Their thickness is about six feet, and the height of what now stands generally varies from three to twelve feet. They extend along the north-eastern side of the city, for about half a mile. Pococke seems to have observed these remains; and, I suppose, means to describe them when he says: "at the north end, which is the highest, there seems to have been a castle, and some walls of rusticated stone remain which are nine feet thick."

To the north-east and north of the metókhi is an extensive brick building consisting of numerous arches, some above ground and others below. Any vaulted building is called a *thólos* by the Greeks, and they took

me to one, under ground, which was plainly once a cistern: its width is 13 feet 8 inches, the present height to the spring of the arch 10 feet, and its length 36 feet. In the arch I observe an aperture, as is usual in buildings of this kind. I also notice near the entrance an earthen pipe, and, near the farther extremity, the mouth of a small aqueduct which is eighteen inches wide and almost as high. The walls are covered with a very hard cement: where they have lost this covering, we see the regular brickwork. I have no doubt, from the appearance of the ground outside about this cistern, that it formed one of several, which must have been necessary to ensure a supply of water to so considerable a city, through the long drought of a Grecian summer.

Pococke, in speaking of an arched building to the north-east of the metókhi, says: "it had some niches which seem to have been designed for statues; it appears as a rough building, though probably it has been cased." I quote him, since I wish to describe all that exists, and the niches escaped my notice. He also mentions the large cisterns "cased in fine brick" which exist to the west of the metókhi: but the finest and most perfectly preserved cisterns that I saw are only a few paces to the north-east of the house[1]. Their cement is nearly every where preserved, but sufficient has fallen off to shew that the walls are built of irregular small stones, faced with regular brick-work on which the plaster was laid. This was the commonest mode of building cisterns: I have seen many such: some at Priapos on the Hellespont, which, from all its remains, would seem to have flourished for several ages under the Roman Emperors.

Olivier searched in vain for marbles, inscriptions or bas-reliefs at this Palaeókastron. I was equally unfor-

[1] A sketch of one of the three arches, which form this reservoir, is given at the head of Chapter V, below p. 61.

tunate, on this my first visit to the site; but, on a subsequent occasion, I heard of an inscription, which was said to be on a stone inserted in the foundation of the wall of a modern building near the metókhi. After soil and rubbish had been cleared away, to the depth of about three feet, along the whole length of the wall, the inscription was once more brought to light. In order to copy it, I had to stand in the narrow trench, which the excavators had made, exposed to the intolerable heat of the mid-day sun[2]; and thus the difficulty and suffering of executing the task were considerable. The inscription is in Cretan Greek, and contains an entire decree of an ancient city:

ΑΓΑΘΑΙΤΥΧΑΙΕΔοΞΕ
ΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΑΜΩΙΚΛΗΣΘ..ΙΣΣΩ
ΣΩΕΙΠΕΑΝΤΙοΧοΝΚΑΙΛ..ΘοΚΛ
ΗΝΣΩΣΙΓΕΝΕοΣΙΕΡοΠοΛΙΤΑΣ
ΠΡοΞΕΝοΣΗΜΕΝΑΥΤοΣΚΑΙ
ΕΙΓοΝΑΥΠΑΧΕΝΔΕΑΥΤοΣΚΑΙ
ΙΣοΠοΛΙΤΕΙΑΝΚΑΙΓΑΣΚΑΙ....Σ
ΕΝ.ΤΗΣΙΙ.ΑΙΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ....Σ
ΑΓ..ΣΙΚΑΙΕΞΑΓΩΣΙΚΑΙ./¯Α
ΙΑΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΑ.ΑΛ...ΑΝΚ.Ι.Ν
ΠοΛΕΜΩΙΚΑΙΕΝΕΙΡΗΝΑ.ΣΥ..Ν
ΑΣΣ.οΝΔ[3]

[2] On the 15th of May. Instead of the horizontal bar of the A, two lines, including an angle somewhat greater than that at the apex of the letter, are used.

[3] With good Fortune! It is decreed (by the senate)
and the people, on the motion of Cleisthenes, the son of So-
..... that Antiochus and Agathocles,
sons of Sosigenes, Hieropolitans,
shall be proxeni, both themselves and
their descendants, and shall possess
isopolity, and the right of acquiring
land and houses, and freedom from duties
on the goods which they may import and export,
both by land and sea,
both in time of war and peace.

This interesting record was carelessly copied by Pococke[4], and its restoration has in consequence exercised the learning and ingenuity of several distinguished scholars[5]. Perhaps some of my readers may find it interesting to compare its final restoration, by Professor Boeckh, with my transcript[6].

In the same wall a second and similar inscription is also found. At first I hoped to have succeeded in decyphering it, although nearly all its letters were very faint. The heat, however, and the difficulty of getting at it, prevented me from doing so. I discerned that it also is a decree of the Demos, and that the name of the person on whose motion it was made is recorded in the usual way.

It appears clear from these inscriptions, and from another found at the Palaeókastron, in the district of Kísamos[7], in which the Demos is similarly mentioned, that, in the Cretan states, "the people" had duties to perform in the assembly as well as in the field. They were doubtless convened, not for the idle purpose of listening to the decrees of their aristocratic senate, but for that of expressing their dissent or assent with refer-

[4] POCOCKE, Inscriptiones Antiquae, P. I. c. 4. p. 43.

[5] J. M. Gessner, Neumann, C. O. Mueller, and Boeckh.

[6] Ἀ(γ)α(θᾷ τύχ)ᾳ, ἔδο(ξ)ε (τᾷ βουλᾷ)
καὶ τῷ δάμῳ, Κλησθ(έν)ης Σ(ω)
σ(ίν)ω ε(ἶπ)ε· Ἀντίοχον καὶ (Ἀγα)θοκ(λ)
ῆν Σωσιγένεος Ἰεροπολίτας
προξένος ἦμεν αὐτὸς καὶ
ἔ(κ)γονα, ὑπά(ρ)χεν δὲ αὐτο(ῖ)ς καὶ
ἰσοπολιτείαν καὶ (γ)ᾶς καὶ οἰκίας
ἔν(κ)τησιν, (κα)ὶ ἀτέλειαν (ὧν ἂν ε)ἰς-
ά(γ)ωσι καὶ ἐξά(γ)ωσι καὶ κα(τ)ὰ
(γ)ᾶν καὶ κ(α)τὰ θά(λασσ)αν κ(α)ὶ ἐν
πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρ(ά)ν(ᾳ.)

The parts here included between brackets are all conjectural emendations due to the scholars of Germany. It will be observed that most of them restore the very letters which I copied from the stone. I should add that the sixth line of my transcript is taken from Pococke.

[7] POCOCKE, l. c. p. 43.

ence to what they heard, and of thus deciding the fate of every measure brought forward[8].

Near the monastery I also noticed a trough, and having elsewhere learnt that an old sarcophagus is frequently made thus to serve the living, now that it is no longer of any use for the dead[9], I examined it closely, and found recorded on it the name of a certain Phido the son of Phido:

ΝΦΕΙΔΩΝ ΦΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ

On one of the subsequent visits, to which I have already alluded, when the Isabella, tender to His Majesty's surveying-vessel Beacon, was remaining with me, I pointed out, for excavation, a spot to the south of the monastery; and, owing to the zeal with which the work was executed[10], an elegant little winged statue, standing on a sculptured pedestal, was found. Unfortunately the head of the youthful god is wanting. On either side of the neck we notice his long unshorn locks, and three little Loves, with torches in their hands, are disporting on the pedestal[11].

Buondelmonti was the first modern writer who visited this Palaeókastron. He travelled more than four hundred years ago, and, after landing at the saltpans now called Túzla, ascended to the ruins of this ancient city, which he supposed to be Minoa. The chief remains in his time, as now, were fragments of marble, and the

[8] See NEUMANN, Rerum Creticarum Specimen, Lib. II. c. v. p. 90. fol. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 74—82. But compare MUELLER, Dorier, Vol. II. p. 70. foll. and THIRLWALL, History of Greece, Vol. I. p. 286.

[9] At Tjardak on the Hellespont, the site, I have no doubt, of Lampsacus, and near Artáki, the Artace of Strabo, not far from the ancient Cyzicos, I have seen old sarcophaguses, some adorned with sculptures, others bearing inscriptions, thus employed. "To what vile uses may we come at last!"

[10] Under the superintendence of Mr T. Sibbald and Mr Aldridge, R. N.

[11] Since I wrote the above, the statue has arrived in England, with some other ancient marbles found in Greece, and all of which I had left at Malta.

very remarkable cisterns, of one of which he measured the dimensions[12].

Domenico Negri, whose work on Geography was published at Basle in the year 1557, and who mentions the extent of the existing remains, appears to have been the first person who, in a printed work, fixed on this place as the site of Minoa. In this opinion he followed Buondelmonti, whose then unpublished observations the Venetian geographer may perhaps have seen[13]. Cornaro, who quotes Negri, merely observes that Minoa was situated between Cydonia and Aptera, and thus places the latter city to the east of these remains. Not satisfied with establishing here the city of Minos, the old Venetian geographer proceeds to make use of what Strabo has said about Amnisos, which was on the north shore near Cnossos, and infers that a port belonging to Minos could not be far from the city Minoa, and that the site of Amnisos is therefore at Picórno, a place near Kalýves.

Neither of the early French travellers in Crete, Thevet and Belon, mentions these remains; and Tournefort

[12] BUONDELMONTI, in the Creta Sacra of CORNELIUS, Vol. I. p. 8. "In capite portus Salinae existunt, prope quas per duo milliaria ad Austrum civitas antiquissima Minoa in monte posita est, quae desolata tantum fragmenta marmorum et cisternas aliquas habet, quarum una in longitudine continet pedes XLV, in latitudine vero XVIII." Again p. 92, in the more detailed account of his Periplus, "Minoam antiquam in monte civitatem videmus. Accedo per duo ad summum milliaria ubi totam prosternatum inveni, ambulo in eam per segetes, et alta per medium marmorea saxa revolvo: conspicio Templa, ac moenia enumerare fatigo; dumque ego per inextricabiles pergerem herbas, inscius in maximas cisternas pedes devenerunt," &c. I need hardly observe, that in quoting Buondelmonti, I leave his Latin just as I find it. On this author may be consulted MAZZUCHELLI, Scrittori d'Italia, Tom. II. Parte IV. p. 2374. TIRABOSCHI, Storia della Lett. Ital. Tom. VI. Parte I. p. 215. and Parte II. p. 788.

[13] DOMINICUS NIGER, in Comment. Europae, XI. p. 347. "Statim flectitur litus sinum efficiens Amphimalim quondam, nunc Sudam planitie undique stratum. Ubi paulo a mari in collibus, qui campum ad occasum terminant, urbs Minoa fuit, quod antiqui operis fragmenta late intuentibus indicant, diciturque nunc locus Palaeocastrum, id est vetus castellum." As to the question whether Negri availed himself of Buondelmonti's writings, see SINNER, on Bondelmontii Insulae Archipelagi, pp. 13 and 185.

fort, who does speak of them, does not seem to have thought them worth an examination. Our countryman Pococke visited the spot and has described them with some accuracy. He agrees with Tournefort and the older authors in supposing the site to be Minoa, bringing forward as a reason, that "according to Ptolemy it was the nearest place to the promontory of Drepanum on the west side;" a poor foundation for the opinion that Palaeókastro, which is rather on what Pococke himself supposes to be the old cape Drepanon than to the west of it, is the ancient Minoa, which Ptolemy places to the west of the promontory. That this is really the promontory in question is sufficiently proved by the identity of its ancient name with that of the modern village on its eastern side[14], and therefore it would seem likely that the situation of Minoa was somewhere near Túzla, at the head of the bay of Súdha, on the edge of the great plain of Cydonia; or, as will soon appear to be still more probable, on the opposite Akrotéri.

I should not stop to notice Olivier's[15] superficial account of this Palaeókastron, which, following Dapper[16], he called the site of Amphimalla[17], had not more learned and distinguished authors promulgated the same erroneous notion respecting it. D'Anville calls the gulf of Súdha "Amphimalia[18]," and Professor Hoeck[19] arrives at the conclusion that these ruins indicate the site of Amphimalla, as the result of his examination of the

[14] Τὸ Δρέπανο is the name of both the village and promontory.

[15] OLIVIER, Voyage dans l'empire Othoman, Tom. II. p. 293.

[16] DAPPER, Description exacte des Isles de l'Archipel, p. 396.

[17] In the orthography of Amphimalla I follow MEURSIUS, Creta, pp. 19 and 55. TZSCHUCKE, on Strabo, Tom. IV. p. 225.

[18] D'ANVILLE, Orbis Romani Pars Orientalis, Paris, 1764; and Geographie Ancienne Abrégée, (Oeuvres, Tom. II. p. 190. ed. Paris, 1834.) He says nothing of this site, but merely identifies the modern gulf of Súdha with the ancient one of Amphimalla, as CORONELLI too does in his Isolario, where he adds that it was believed "che nel più intimo recesso di questo (golfo), dove hora sono alcune saline, fosse la detta città fondata."

[19] HOECK's Kreta, Vol. I. pp. 386, 7.

ancient authorities. The question is therefore entitled to a careful consideration.

Supposing Amphimalla to have been here, it becomes necessary, doubtless, to remove Cape Drepanon elsewhere; for the promontory is placed at some distance to the west of Amphimalla, by Ptolemy. Professor Hoeck, therefore, finding the name of the cape, on some old charts, in an Italianized form, "Ponta di Trapani," and observing the same appellation given to other headlands in Crete, inferred that the promontory so designated need not be the same with the ancient Drepanon; which he, therefore, supposed to have been the Akrotéri: and, having followed Pococke and Olivier in fixing Cydonia on the lower slopes of the White Mountains, placed Minoa, in accordance with Ptolemy's indication of its position westward of the promontory, on the site of the modern Khaniá[20].

I find however that here Boschini uses the term, "Ponta di Drapano," which has a closer resemblance to the ancient name than Greek words generally possess on coming out of an Italian or French crucible; and I believe that the Ponta di Trapani, which is elsewhere found on Venetian charts of Crete, is an appellation unknown to the inhabitants of the island. But, whether or not the term, by which some Italians have thought proper to designate the promontory, may have been derived from the ancient Drepanon is a question of infinitely little importance; for the old name has been indisputably preserved unchanged, and is still the only one used by all the Cretans.

Ptolemy mentions four promontories as found on the north coast, in these western parts of Crete: Corycos and Psacon, Cyamon and Drepanon: and on looking at the map, we see at once the four capes which he must have designated by those names. The first two are undoubtedly the modern Cape Grabúsa and Cape Spádha;

[20] Hoeck, l. c. p. 385.

the fourth of them alone preserves its ancient name; and Cyamon, the remaining promontory of the old geographer, is therefore the Akrotéri[21]. Mr Hoeck's supposition that the Akrotéri was Drepanon, had made him absolutely eliminate this Cape Cyamon from his map of Crete.

This part then of Professor Hoeck's argument, which forced him to consider the modern Akrotéri as the ancient Drepanon, is answered. He next quotes the passage of Strabo, which appears to prove that in a certain part, where the island is only a hundred stades broad, Amphimalla is situated on the northern shore, and Phoenix of the Lampaeans on the southern; and hence infers that Amphimalla was situated on the bay of Súdha, assuming the island to be narrower here than it is between Armyró and the south coast[22].

In the maps of both Boschini[23] and D'Anville[24], this narrowest part of Crete is rightly represented as between the Sfakian coast and Armyró: and the point is made still clearer on inspecting Lapie.

The passage in Strabo therefore proves that Amphimalla, if opposite to Phoenix, as he puts it, and serving

[21] The argument seems sufficiently clear as I have put it, although it may perhaps be still more plainly stated. The only capes between Rhíthymnos and Cape Spádha are Dhrépano and Akrotéri, and those spoken of by Ptolemy, between the same limits, are Drepanon and Cyamon, of which Cyamon is to the westward of the other, as the Akrotéri is west of Dhrépano. Ptolemy's order in speaking of the river Pycnos, the Cydonians, and the Cape, the three things mentioned by him between Minoa and Dictamnon, seems to have been altered by copyists. I feel no doubt that it ought to be Μινώα. Κύαμον ἄκρον. Κυδωνεῖς. Πυκνοῦ ποτ. ἐκβολαί. Δίκταμνον, an alteration effected by merely making the cape and river change places. We shall find some other instances where Ptolemy's text has undoubtedly suffered by similar transpositions of copyists, e.g. Panormos and Poecilasion.

[22] STRABO, X. p. 475. Τὸ δὲ ἔνθεν ἰσθμός ἐστιν ὡς ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ἔχων κατοικίαν πρὸς μὲν τῇ βορείῳ θαλάττῃ, Ἀμφίμαλλαν· πρὸς δὲ τῇ νοτίῳ Φοίνικα τὸν Λαμπαίων (vulgo τῶν Λαμπέων).

[23] BOSCHINI, Il regno tutto di Candia delineato, ec. ec. da Marco Boschini, Venetiano, 1651.

[24] D'ANVILLE, Les Côtes de la Grèce et l'archipel, 1756, Paris. The physical feature in question is the same in his Orbis Romani pars Orientalis.

to indicate an "isthmus of the island," could not have been to the west of the place which is now called Armyró: and consequently we have positive authority for placing it several miles to the east of this Palaeókastro.

I will endeavour to make the point still clearer. Undoubtedly Strabo in speaking of this "isthmus" did not mean to designate a part, where not only do the snow-clad summits of the White Mountains oppose an impassable barrier to all direct communication between the two shores, but where the island is also considerably wider than it is between Armyró and the town of Sfakiá. Another fact, perhaps the most important of all, for the decision of the point, is that the only road which can ever have led from the neighbourhood of Súdha to the southern shore, must have passed by the defile of Askýfo and Nípro, the former of which places is about ten miles from the head of the gulf of Armyró, and is nearly twice as far from that of Súdha. Thus Fránko-Kástello, and the towns both of Sfakiá and Lutró, on the south coast, are all evidently much nearer to Armyró than they are to Súdha; and therefore, if, instead of supposing, with most modern geographers, the port Phoenix to have been near Fránko-Kástello, we place it as far to the west as Lutró, the isthmus spoken of will still be between it and the gulf of Armyró, rather than that of Súdha.

Even in the absence of any authority on the subject, I think there would be another objection equally fatal to Professor Hoeck's hypothesis. Amphimalla was a town at most of only third or fourth rate importance; is not known to have struck coins, as was done by at least thirty cities in the island; is connected with no myth, which might indicate its high antiquity; and is not mentioned as existing in the times of Greek history: while the ruins of Palaeókastron shew that its establishment belongs to the very earliest period of civilization; and that, after flourishing through ages of republican

freedom and prosperity, it remained a great and populous city even under the Roman empire.

It is evident therefore that the opinions of the writers who have supposed the ruins of Palaeókastron to be those of Minoa or Amphimalla, are untenable: and it remains for us to determine to what Cretan city they do belong. Strabo alone made me suppose that this city was Aptera, even before I visited the site: the fact that half the coins found in digging on the spot are coins of Aptera; and the extent and variety of the remains, answering so well to the mention of that city in old legends, and to the unvarying notice of it in every ancient author who treats of Crete, from Scylax and Strabo to Hierocles and the Geographer of Ravenna, confirmed me in my opinion.

Whatever were the situations of Polyrrhenia and Aptera, it appears certain that Cydonia was between them, for Strabo[25] fixes the boundaries of Cydonia, both on the east and west, by telling us that "it is distant 80 stades from Aptera and 40 stades from the sea there[26]. The port of Aptera is Kisamos. To the westward conterminous with the Cydonians are the Polyrrhenians, in whose district is the temple of Dictynna: and who are distant about 30 stades from the sea, and 60 from Phalasarna. They dwelt in villages formerly, but afterwards the Achaeans and Laconians settled among them, having fortified a strong place looking towards the south." Now Cydonia, the position of which has been already determined[27], was about nine miles from the site of the Palaeókastro, and almost half as far from the head of the great bay of Súdha: distances which answer to the 80 and 40 stades of the geographer. Strabo's language precludes all possibility of our supposing Aptera to have

[25] STRABO, x. p. 479.

[26] STRABO, l. c. *Ἀπτέρας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα· τῆς ταύτῃ δὲ θαλάττης τεσσαράκοντα.* The vignette at the head of Chapter III, taken from the site of Aptera, shews the bay in question, and, in the distance, the neighbourhood and gulf of Cydonia.

[27] Above, pp. 12—16.

existed any where to the west of Cydonia: while Kisamos, according to the Peutinger table, was XXXII miles to the eastward of that city[28].

I, therefore, suppose that there were two ancient Cretan cities called Kisamos, of which the port of Aptera must have been in the plain of Apokórona, on the shore at or near Kalýves[29], where I was told that ancient ruins exist[30]. Although the visible remains thus spoken of may be merely those of a middle-age fortress, yet there is another reason to be mentioned for believing that the hill on which they are found is the ancient site in question. On looking at the coast, near Kalýves, we find an admirable little port, fully adequate to receive the small vessels of the ancients, just below the site of the Venetian fortress[31]; the situation of which on a steep hill near the shore, is one in which ancient cities are very commonly found. The construction of the Venetian castle, has, in all probability, caused the disappearance of any vestiges which might have indicated the existence of the ancient city on the spot.

Pliny's authority is not very great; but it is worth while to observe that his speaking of Apteron as a maritime place agrees, as well as an expression not strictly true can agree, with the fact. We see that, though Aptera was four miles distant from the town which served it as a port, it was not half as far from the sea.

[28] TABULA ITINERARIA PEUTINGERIANA, Segm. VIII. Lips. 1824.

[29] Καλύβαις the common modern Greek plural for καλύβαι. The name belonged to an ancient town in Thrace: see STEPHANUS BYZANT. v. Καλύβη. There are several villages called Kalývia in Greece, as the Kalývia of Lekhúri, near the remains of Psophis, the Kalývia of Zákhuli, and the Aianítika-Kalývia: see LEAKE, Morea, Vol. II. p. 252, and p. 485, Vol. III. p. 386. We also find them elsewhere in Crete.

[30] Εἶναι Ἑλληνικὸς τόπος τζὴ Καλύβαις, εἰς τὸ Καστέλι, were my informant's words: the expression used, εἰς τὸ Καστέλι, sufficiently indicate the remains in question to be those of the Venetian fort "Castel Apicorona," which is situated a little to the east of Kalýves (see Boschini's Map, No. 11).

[31] BOSCHINI, the maps numbered 11 and 12.

The old legend of the Sirens and the Muses, which was probably invented, as well as the myth about a King Apteras[32], the founder of the city, to make out an etymology of Aptera[33], will also help us in determining its position. Stephanus of Byzantium[34] tells us that

[32] EUSEBIUS mentions Apteras, and PAUSANIAS, x. p. 810, speaks of a King Pteras, accounts which, says Holstein in his commentary on Stephanus Byzantinus, procul dubio fabulis praeponenda sunt, considering in the spirit of his age, Apteros as a historical personage, and the poor Muses and Sirens as less entitled to our belief in their having had a real existence than the mythical king. PARTHENIUS, Erotic. Cap. XXXV. tells a story of Eulimene, the daughter of Cydon, who was promised in marriage by her father to Apteros πρωτεύοντι τότε Κρητῶν, while Lycastos was her favoured lover. An oracle bids Cydon τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἥρωσι σφαγιάσαι παρθένον, and the lot falls on his own daughter. Hereupon Lycastos δείσας περὶ αὐτῆς, μηνύει τὴν φθοράν, καὶ ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου συνείη αὐτῇ. She was adjudged to be so much the more worthy of death. Apteros avenged himself on Lycastos by waylaying and slaying him. Pausanias's Pteras is made a Cretan by Mons. Raoul Rochette, of which more a few pages further on.

[33] The English reader may refer to Mr THIRLWALL's observations on the usage, among the ancient Greeks, of tracing the names of cities and nations to individuals, and thus "obtaining an object for the imagination to deal with in the room of an abstract term," in the Philological Museum. Vol. I. pp. 326, 7; also History of Greece, Vol. I. p. 79. We shall find several instances in Crete, in some of which it will appear, that the same mythical etymology has been suggested by the common name of places existing in different districts widely apart from one another.

[34] STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, Ἄπτερα, πόλις Κρήτης, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ Σειρήνων ἔριδος, τῆς ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ, πλησίον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, τόπῳ τοιῶσδε καλουμένῳ γενομένης· ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μουσικῇ νίκην τῶν Μουσῶν αἱ Σειρῆνες δυσφοροῦσαι τὰ πτερὰ τῶν ὤμων ἀπέβαλον, καὶ λευκαὶ γενόμεναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐνέβαλον ἑαυτάς· ὅθεν ἡ πόλις Ἄπτερα, αἱ δὲ πλησίον νῆσοι Λευκαί. These Sirens are mentioned in the Odyssey XII. 39 fol. as simply of the human form, and they are thus represented on several funeral urns found in cities of Etruria: see GORI, Mus. Etrusc. Vol. I. Tab. 147. and Vol. II. p. 279. They are spoken of as winged by EURIPIDES, Helen. 167. and Fragm. CLIV. and were generally so represented by artists, who also gave them the thighs and legs of birds: see HEYNE, Exc. VII. on Aen. III. This contest, between these winged half-bird Goddesses and the Muses, forms the subject of two monuments of ancient art. The first is a fragment published by WINCKELMANN, Monumenti Antichi inediti, No. 46, and the second, in which the victorious Muses are represented as stripping the vanquished Sirens of their wings, is engraved and illustrated in Mr MILLINGEN's Ancient unedited Monuments, Series II, Pl. XV. p. 28, fol. AUSONIUS also, Griphus ternarii numeri, v. 21, alludes to the contest:

Tres

"Aptera derived its name from the contest which took place between the Muses and the Sirens in a place called the Museion, near the city and the sea: and where, after the victory of the Muses in music, the Sirens lost the feathers of their wings from their shoulders, and, when they had thus become white, cast themselves into the sea: whence the city was called Aptera and the neighbouring islands Leucae." Now the island nearest to Cydonia would be only eight or nine miles from Aptera, if that city was near Súdha, and would be more than thrice that distance from the inland city near the western coast[35]. But I think it clear that we have nothing to do with either of those islands on the present occasion, although most modern geographers are unanimous in considering them as the Leucae of the ancients. Let us see what the old authors say. Pliny's account is that as a person sails from west to east he finds, opposite to Cydonia, three islands, "Leuce, and the two Budroae[36]." He puts the two Budroae, which may be the site of the old Venetian lazaret, and the island of Hághios Theódhoros, after Leuce, which I take for the rock on which

> Tres volucres, tres semideae, tres semipuellae
> Ter tribus ad palmam jussis certare Camoenis,
> Ore, manu, flatu: buxo, fide, voce canentes.

The Sirens were represented on the hand of an ancient statue of Here, made by Pythodoros the Theban, and seen at Coronea by Pausanias, who says that Here persuaded them to enter into their fatal contest with the Muses: PAUSANIAS, IX. p. 778. *Ἥρας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον, Πυθοδώρου τέχνη Θηβαίου· φέρει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ Σειρῆνας. τὰς γὰρ δὴ Ἀχελώου θυγατέρας ἀναπεισθείσας φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἥρας καταστῆναι πρὸς τὰς Μούσας ἐς ᾠδῆς ἔργον.*

[35] MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Tom. VIII. p. 724, appears to have seen, that this legend could not well be reconciled with the supposition that Aptera was so far to the west of Cydonia, opposite to which these islands Leucae lay. Yet he had no glimmering of the truth, and concluded that Pococke, he might have said Tournefort, or the geographers who preceded him, had probably found the true site of Aptera at the western Palaeókastro.

[36] PLINY, N. H. IV. 20. Reliquae circa eam: ante Peloponnesum duae Coricae, totidem Mylae; et latere septemtrionali, dextra Cretam habenti, contra Cydoniam Leuce, et duae Budroae.

the fortress of Súdha is built, just as he speaks of the islands opposite Phalasarna, after the Coricae, the two Grabúsas. I also find much more conclusive testimony than this of Pliny to the point in question.

In a passage of the anonymous Coast-describer, published by Iriarte[37], which has given no little trouble to those French critics who have attempted to correct it, we are told, that from Cydonia to Aspera was 150 stades coasting along, and 120 stades by land. Now the Akrotéri projects sufficiently to cause this difference of distance, according as we come by land or sea from Khaniá to this Palaeókastron; and undoubtly Aptera was the word used by the author. When he adds that the islands are situated by a place called Minoa, it makes one suppose that city to have been on the Akrotéri, opposite the rocks of Súdha, and near the Porto Novo, or Porto

[37] See above, p. 14. His words are: Ἀπὸ Κυδωνίας εἰς Ἀσπέραν περιπλέεται σταδ. ρν'. πεζῇ δὲ μίλια ρκ'· ὁ τόπος Μίνωα καλεῖται, εἰς ὃν κεῖνται νῆσοι τρεῖς, αἳ καλοῦνται Λευκαί. We shall unhesitatingly read Ἀπτέραν for Ἀσπέραν, and στάδια for μίλια. The conjectures of the French scholars are varied: one would read ἐσπέραν: another explains the text by supposing a Roman word to have been used in its Roman sense, and to be even peculiarly applicable to a place situated on this *asperous* promontory! A third would read Ἄσπραν, a word of common use in modern Greek, and corresponding to the old λευκήν, being derived, it has been said, from the use of asper in the phrase *asperi* nummi by the Romans, or, more probably, from the old Greek word ἄσπιλος, which when rapidly pronounced, according to accent, differs scarcely at all from ἄσπλος, and the well known peculiarity of the Doric dialect, and a common modern change, which, as we shall find, is very prevalent in some parts of Crete, shews how easily ἄσπλος and ἄσπρος might be changed. This last conjecture, Ἄσπραν, was conceived to be peculiarly happy, since it corresponded with both the name of the island (Λευκὴ) to its north, and that of the mountains (τὰ λευκὰ ὄρη) to its south: and it must be owned to be almost as amusing as that of the geographer Vadianus, who, writing early in the sixteenth century, derived the name of the chief town Candia, from these white mountains. "Urbe metropolitana quae eo quo et insula nomine Candia dicitur, fortassis à candore deducto vocabulo, quandoquidem, Strabone teste, ejus montes occidui λευκοί hoc est albi sive candidi, dicuntur." VADIANUS, Epitome, p. 479. ed. Sangall. 1534. MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Tom. VIII. p. 695, who rightly places the islands Leucae at Súdha, following the Stadiasmus, did not at all suspect Aspera, and thought the Latin word a plain indication of the age of the writer.

Lutráki of Boschini[38], a supposition perfectly in accordance with all that we know of its position; and it also seems, when added to the other considerations, most satisfactorily to decide that Súdha and the islet near it are the Leucae of the ancients.

This removes a difficulty from the story about the Sirens, who could hardly have been supposed to have taken so long a leap as they must have done to reach either of the spots west of Cydonia, and here therefore was it believed that they cast themselves into the sea, and were changed into the islands.

According to many authors there were three of these Sirens, and the rocks near Capreae, which derived their name[39] from the same imaginary beings, were three in number. Nevertheless we have no need of a third islet here[40], for two Sirens alone are spoken of by both Homer[41] and Sophocles[42].

I hope my reader is, by this time, as thoroughly convinced as I am sure he must be tired by this discussion. It rests however for us to see how the numerous remains found at Palaeókastro, near the western extremity of the island, can have been supposed to belong to Aptera. Tournefort describes them as "sur une roche escarpée et fortifiée par la nature;" just the place which Strabo mentions as having been occupied and fortified by the Achaeans and Laconians, after they settled among the *Polyrrhenians*. Moreover these re-

[38] BOSCHINI, the Maps numbered 8 and 10. Porto Novo is just opposite the "Fortezza" of Súdha, and Porto Lutraki is opposite the other chief island, which he calls Marati.

[39] See TZSCHUCKE, on Pomponius Mela, Vol. III. Part II. p. 418. VIRGIL, Aen. v. 864.

Jamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat;
Difficiles quondam, multorumque ossibus albos.

[40] Three are spoken of in the Periplus: there is however only one, besides the rock of Súdha, which can well be called even an islet, as may be seen in Boschini.

[41] ODYSSEY, XII. 167. and the observation of Eustathius.

[42] SOPHOCLES, Fr. Inc. LXX, according to the certain emendation of Prof. LOBECK, Comment. on Soph. Aj. v. 802.

mains are situated about three miles from the northern sea, and six from considerable ruins of the ancient town of Phalasarna, the port of Polyrrhenia, which are found at a place called Kutrí on the western coast. Here then are the very distances of Polyrrhenia, as given by Strabo, both from its port and from the northern sea: and one only wonders that Tournefort should have sought to learn the ancient name of Palaeókastron from the poor Greeks of the village[43], instead of opening his eyes and his Strabo, and comparing what he had actually before him with what he read; in which case he would certainly have found it no difficult matter to discover the truth. As it was, he may have been misled by the supposition of several modern geographers[44] that Aptera was situated near the village of Kísamo, which he had passed on the northern shore; and thus he inferred at once, that the remains, seen at Palaeókastron in that neighbourhood, were those of Aptera. Some later writers have even gone so far as to give the name of Aptera to that village of Palaeókastron[45]. Pococke too no sooner found this Kísamos, near which some remains of antiquity do undoubtedly exist, than he observed, as the French naturalist had done before him, "it was the port of the ancient city Aptera, which is about five miles distant to the south-south-east." He then proceeds: "Polyrrhenia was another inland city five miles more

[43] TOURNEFORT's words (Tom. I. p. 80.) are: "Le 26 Juillet nous allâmes aux ruines de Paleocastro, ou Château vieux, selon le grec vulgaire. *Les gens du pays ignorent son ancient nom:* il est pourtant à croire que c'étoit la ville d'Aptere, puisque Strabon avance que Chisamo en étoit l'arsenal et le port: en effet Chisamo est un port de mer," etc.

[44] DOMINICUS MARIUS NIGER, (p. 348. ed. Basil. 1557.) "In cujus parte intima Cisamopolis est, emporium Apterae, quod castrum Chisamum hodie ab incolis nuncupatur." FERRARIUS, Lexic. Geograph. v. Cisamus. "Chisamopoli Soph. al. Chisamo, urb. Episc. Cretae in ora littorea Boreali apud oram occid. pene deserta, ab Apteria 40 stad. a Cydone fere 20 mil. pass. n occ." So too ANDREA CORNARO, in CORNELIUS, Cret. Sacr. Tom. I. p. 123, and, I believe, every one who has since written on the subject.

[45] GUSSEME, Diccionario Numismatico generale, Tom. I. p. 238. Es la que al presente se llama: *Atteria ó Paleocastro.* His assertion is repeated by RASCHE, Lexic. Univ. rei numar. Tom. I. 976.

south than Aptera, and, according to Ptolemy, forty minutes of longitude more to the west, which seems too much[46]." It is indeed too much, for if the Polyrrhenians had lived so far to the westward of the place which he took for Aptera, they would have been more than twenty miles out at sea! The distance, according to Ptolemy, between the two cities, is about that between the two Palaeókastros.

It seems quite evident that there must have been *two* maritime towns called Kisamos. Long after my conviction that Aptera stood on the hill near Súdha, I feared that some persons might think the necessity of thus supposing two cities of this same name to have existed in Crete, a necessity which was evidently forced upon me, a serious obstacle in the way of my hypothesis: and since there is no doubt that the Kisamos adjoining on the Polyrrhenian territory did exist in ancient times, I was delighted to find my two cities both inserted in the Peutinger Table, one of them eight miles to the eastward of Cydonia, and the other 32 miles to the westward: distances which completely agree with all that has been here advanced. D'Anville, supposing like every body else, that Aptera was near the western Kisamos, proposed to suppress the second town of the same name in the ancient Table[47], where I, after long believing in the city's existence, was so glad to find it appear.

A long passage of an old geographer[48] strikingly confirms the views here taken of the situations of Polyr-

[46] Pococke, Vol. II. Part I. p. 246, fol.

[47] D'Anville, Analyse de la carte intitulée Les côtes de la Grèce et l' Archipel. (Paris 1757.) p. 57. Quoiqu'il y ait une correction à faire, parce qu'il y a une répétition de Cisamus à supprimer dans la table: D'Anville, Oeuvres, Tom. II. p. 190.

[48] Scylax, p. 18. Huds. After enumerating Phalasarna and Polyrrhenia, the Dictynnaean temple of Artemis, the Pergamian district, and Hyrtacina, he mentions Cydonia, and the inland city Elyros, with a place beyond it to the south: he then says: "*πρὸς βορέαν δὲ ἄνεμον ὄρος κάλλιστον καὶ λιμὴν ἐν αὐτῷ*, ΟΔΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝ *πρὸς βορέαν δὲ ἀνύα πτερέα χώρα*: the *ὄρος κάλλιστον*, if that part of the passage is in its right place in the author's text, seems to denote the mountain Berecynthos or Maláxa, and

rhenia, Cydonia and Aptera, and will hereafter be useful in determining the position of other cities in these western parts of the island.

A few of the coins of this city, which, found as they were at Palaeókastro, confirmed me in my opinion respecting its position, deserve a little consideration. The first represents, on the obverse, an aged head of a bearded god or hero, and, on the reverse, a bee with the first four letters of the city's name. Some of my readers may call to mind the miserable etymological myth which Pausanias has recorded respecting the building of Apollo's Delphian temple by a King Pteras[49]. There is however no discoverable mythical connexion between this royal personage and the Apteros of the Cretan city[50]; so that we may very safely infer that the head on this coin is not that of Pteras, and that the reverse is not at all allusive to the wax and wings of bees, with which Apollo's temple was said to have been constructed. The head on the obverse is, in all likelihood, designed for that of Zeus: and the bee is found on coins of other cities, where it can only remind us of the Cretan honey, one of the most famous productions of the island, both in ancient and modern times. A second coin, with a lyre on its reverse, might allude to the other story told to explain the origin of the name of Aptera; but, since a laurelled youthful head on its obverse appears to be that of Apollo himself, we should hardly be warranted

and the λιμὴν the bay of Súdha: the concluding words were, in all probability, πρὸς βορέαν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡ Ἀπτεραία χώρα. Scylax then proceeds: Εἶτα ἡ Λαμπαία καὶ διήκει αὕτη ἀμφοτέρωθεν, words which alone would lead us to fix Lampe, or Lappa, to the east, and Cydonia to the west, of Aptera. As to the manifest corruption ὁλοῦς καὶ πᾶν, it is sufficient to observe, that Olus was very far to the east of both Aptera and Lappa, and that Scylax can never have placed it in the immediate neighbourhood of those cities.

[49] PAUSANIAS, X. p. 810.

[50] With whom he is confounded by PAUSANIAS, l. c. Ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Πτερᾶ καὶ πόλιν Κρητικὴν προσθήκῃ γράμματος Ἀπτεραίους φασὶν ὀνομάζεσθαι: and by M. RAOUL-ROCHETTE, Histoire de l'établissement des colonies Grecques, Tom. II. p. 164. fol. See Professor HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 169.

in depriving him of his lyre. The use of A instead of E in the name of this city, on most of the coins, is a well-known dorism, and the coins on which the word is spelt with an E are rarer, and therefore more valuable, than the others[51].

On other coins of Aptera, which I found on its site, a bow is represented. As early as the time of the war between the Lacedaemonians and the Messenians under Aristomenes, the events of which were celebrated by a Cretan poet[52], we find mention made of bowmen of Aptera, who served with the Lacedaemonians, under Euryalus the Spartan, and materially contributed to the successful termination of the contest[53].

The position of Aptera being once settled we shall soon determine that of Berecynthos, one of the most celebrated mountains of Crete, which even Tournefort, although he had succeeded in finding Aptera close to the remains of Phalasarna, had to regret his inability to recognize among the mountains of the Dictynnaean chain; less bold than a later writer[54], who tells us, that the scene of the discoveries and labours of the Idaean Dactyls is identically the same mountain as received its name from Dictynna, although the two are confounded by no ancient author, and the legends connected with them are very distinct. The hypothesis advanced by Professor Hoeck[55], would save one all

[51] On these coins of Aptera consult PELLERIN, Recueil de médailles de peuples et de villes, Tom. III. p. 60. ECKHEL, Doctrina Numorum Veterum, Vol. II. p. 304. Numi Veteres Anecdoti, p. 143. The Lexicons of GUSSEME and RASCHE, already referred to: COMBE, Mus. Hunter. p. 143. the NUMI MUSEI BRITANNICI, p. 144. MIONNET, Tom. II. p. 261. and Supplement, Tom. IV. p. 304. and SESTINI, in many parts of his voluminous works.

[52] RHIANUS, of Bene in the neighbourhood of Gortyna.

[53] PAUSANIAS, IV. pp. 329 and 326. Professor Hoeck, however, considers, with great probability, that this presence of Cretan bowmen is only the poetry of Rhianus, and not the truth of history: HOECK'S Kreta, Vol. III. p. 461.

[54] CRAMER, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 379. "Mount Berecynthus, which Diodorus names as being in this vicinity, (that is, in the vicinity of Aptera,) is the Dictynnaeus of Pliny and others."

[55] HOECK'S Kreta, Tom. I. p. 280.

trouble in looking for Mount Berecynthos, since he denies that any such mountain ever existed in Crete in really ancient times. For my own part I do not believe that Diodorus of Sicily, who says distinctly that there was such a mountain "in the district of the Apteraeans", could well be mistaken about the matter: and it is not surprising that, like the Cretan Ida, Berecynthos also had a Phrygian name. Giving credit therefore to Diodorus for speaking of a well-known mountain called Berecynthos, I at once see that it is the modern Maláxa[56]; which is of a considerable elevation, even high enough to have, not unfrequently, a sprinkling of snow on its summit, for a few days in the month of December or January. Its basis is granitic and schistose[57], although its upper strata seem to be calcareous, if what I saw in the tombs near Aptera, which is situated on a ridge of the very mountain, may be taken as a specimen of them. Thus its formation answers the requisite geological conditions[58] for the existence of metallic veins in the mountain, if we are to suppose that here fire was first used, and brass and iron first discovered and bestowed on man by the Idean Dactyls[59].

[56] The name of Maláxa has been transferred under the corrupted form of Maleka, Malek, or Malier, to the Akroteri. Of this every author who has written on Crete will furnish examples. It is hardly necessary to add, that no such transfer of name has been made by the Cretans.

[57] This was observed by OLIVIER, Voyage, etc. Tom. II. p. 285.

[58] Professor Hoeck supposed this mountain to be solely calcareous, and to be near the site which has been already shewn to belong not to Aptera but to Polyrrhenia: see HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 280. Preface to Vol. II. p. IX. "*Dem aeltern Mythus fiel es nicht ein, Dactylen in den Westen Kreta's, auf einen erzlosen Kreideberg zu versetzen.*"

[59] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 64. Οἱ δ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι παραδέδονται τήν τε τοῦ πυρὸς χρῆσιν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου φύσιν ἐξευρεῖν τῆς Ἀπτεραίων χώρας περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Βερέκυνθον. The present reading τῆς Ἀπτεραίων χώρας has been adopted on the authority of MSS. The old reading, τῆς Ἀντισαπτεραίων χώρας, was emended ἐν τῇ Ἀπτεραίων χώρᾳ by MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 84. These Idaean Dactyls are spoken of as Cretans by several writers, as STRABO, X. p. 473. (compare XIV. p. 654.) Τοὺς γοῦν πρώτους γεννηθέντας ἐν Κρήτῃ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους κληθῆναι: and APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, I. 1127.

Οἱ

Before bidding farewell to Aptera, it seems worth while to say something more about Drepanon. The name is not peculiar to this Cretan promontory, but was given to other places which were also supposed to resemble the form of a sickle. It is uncertain whether Ovid alludes to the Sicilian city of this name, or to Messene, which was anciently called Zancle[60], when he says[61],

Quique locus curvae nomina falcis habet.

Natural and obvious as this etymology is, it did not satisfy the Greeks; and the fable respecting the mutilation of Uranos, by the iron weapon of Kronos, which is said to have been made by the Idaean Dactyls[62], is gravely referred to by ancient authors, as the true origin of the names of the Cretan Drepanon[63], of Drepane in Bithynia[64], and of the Sicilian city[65].

The same legend is told respecting the cause of the ancient name of Corcyra[66], by Timaeus and Apollonius

Οἱ μοῦνοι πολλῶν μοιραγέται ἠδὲ πάρεδροι
Μητέρος Ἰδαίης κεκλήαται, ὅσσοι ἔασι
Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι Κρηταιέες, οὓς ποτε Νύμφη
Ἀγχιάλη Δικταῖον ἀνὰ σπέος, ἀμφοτέρῃσι
Δραξαμένη γαίης Οἰαξίδος, ἐβλάστησε.

This writer seems to find no difficulty in placing Mount Dicte, which was between Itanos and Hierapytna, and its supposed Idaean Dactyls, in the neighbourhood of Axos, not far from the middle of the island; somewhere about half-way between Mounts Berecynthos and Dicte. On the alleged Cretan origin of the Idaean Dactyls, consult Professor Lobeck's admirable work, Aglaophamus, p. 1157. fol. where he arrives at the conclusion, p. 1161. that the *more ancient* authorities are unanimous in speaking of them as Phrygians. See also Hoeck, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 283.

[60] Thucydides, VI. 4. Ζάγκλη ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν κληθεῖσα, ὅτι δρεπανοειδὲς τὴν ἰδέαν τὸ χωρίον ἐστί.

[61] Ovid, Fasti IV. 474.

[62] Strabo, XIV. p. 654. Καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἅρπην τῷ Κρόνῳ δημιουργῆσαι.

[63] I cannot at this moment lay my finger on the passage, which, however, I have certainly somewhere read.

[64] Stephanus Byzant. Δρεπάνη—τῆς δὲ Βιθυνίας φασὶν ὠνομάσθαι, ὅτι

Δρεπάνην κλείουσιν ἀπὸ Κρονίδαο σιδήρου.

[65] Silius Italicus, XIV. 48. Macrobius, Saturnal. I. 8. extr.

[66] Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, IV. 983. Ἡ δὲ Κερκύρα πρότερον μὲν Δρεπάνη ἐκαλεῖτο, εἶτα Σχερία. Another etymology of the first name is also given on the authority of Aristotle.

Rhodius[67]; and that island is likewise described, by other authors[68], as the place where Uranos suffered the indignity alluded to.

While I was busied in examining some of the existing remains of Aptera, my companion made a sketch, seen at the head of the last chapter, of the bay and islet of Súdha, taking it from the walls of the ancient city. On returning to the metóhki the old priest gave us for breakfast some meat fried in oil, and served up swimming in that favourite condiment of almost every Cretan dish. I made him a suitable recompense for the hospitality he had shewn us, preventing any difficulties, which might have arisen in the way of his receiving it, by suggesting, that the trifle which I gave was "for the Church."

[67] APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, IV. 990. *Δρεπάνη τόθεν ἐκλήϊσται Οὔνομα, Φαιήκων ἱερὴ τροφός.* The Scholiast on verse 983 mentions the account of Timaeus.

[68] ALCAEUS and ACUSILAUS, in the Scholiast on Apollon. Rhod. IV. 992. *Καὶ Ἀλκαῖος δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἀκουσιλάῳ λέγει τοὺς Φαίακας ἔχειν τὸ γένος ἐκ τῶν σταγόνων τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ.* See TZETZES, and the PARISIAN SCHOLIA, on Lycophron, 761.

CISTERNS OF APTERA.

CHAPTER V.

PLAIN OF APOKORONA. HIPPOCORONION. RUINS OF A MIDDLE-AGE FORTRESS. HAMLET OF RHAMNE. CRETAN FARE AND BEDS. APPEAL OF A PAPAS. DEATHS BY IMPALING DURING THE REVOLUTION. DETERMINATION OF THE SITES OF AMPHIMALLA, AMPHIMATRION, CORION, THE CORESIAN LAKE, HYDRAMON, AND PANTOMATRION. MEETING WITH THE SFAKIAN CAPTAIN MANIAS, WHO BECOMES MY GUIDE. BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HIS ADVENTURES. CRETAN SONG. RUINED VILLAGE OF EPISKOPE.

February 17.

On taking leave of the venerable priest, and of the site of Aptera, we descended the eastern slope of the hill into the plain of Apokórona, and, soon after reaching it, crossed a river[1] which arises from several copious

[1] Εἰς τοῦ Στύλου τὸ ποτάμι.

sources, near the village of Stýlo, seen a little to our right at the foot of the White Mountains. The water of these springs is said to be deliciously cold in the summer. They are mentioned by Buondelmonti[2]. Hardly had we reached the plain before my ignorant and stupid guide lost the road, and in consequence we had to cross the river, which winds considerably in the plain, no less than three times, and, on the third occasion, the narrow stream was so rapid, that a dog, by which I had long been accompanied, was carried down it much more than a hundred yards, as he swam across. After traversing the greater part of the plain, we arrived at the village of Neokhório, situated on a gentle ascent. Near it is a lofty country house, which, I should suppose, must once have belonged to a Venetian cavaliere. I found the dhidháskalos[3] Anagnóstes, and learnt from him that there are other very considerable remains, consisting of "great stones and marbles, just as at the Palaeókastron near Súdha" at Hághios Mámas, on a hill about two miles to the west of Neokhório. I thought myself fortunate in obtaining this information, especially since I believed the word Apokórona to be a corruption of Hippocorona or Hippocoronion, the name of an ancient Cretan city. Strabo says: "Ida is the name of both the Trojan and the Cretan mountain, and Dicte is a place in Scepsia, and a mountain in Crete. And a peak of Ida is called Pytna, whence the city Hierapytna obtains its name: and there is a Hippocorona in the Adramyttene district, and Hippocoronion in Crete[4]." True it is that most of the Cretan places mentioned are a good

[2] CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. p. 8. Post brevem viam planus est cum Chilario flumine, qui per subterraneos meatus a Leuco monte devenit, et in quodam rure Stilo nomine per multas cavernas frigidissimas exit.

[3] 'Ο διδάσκαλος, more commonly corrupted into ὁ δάσκαλος.

[4] STRABO, X. 472. Ἴδη γὰρ τὸ ὄρος τό τε Τρωϊκὸν καὶ τὸ Κρητικόν· καὶ Δίκτη τόπος ἐν τῇ Σκηψίᾳ καὶ ὄρος ἐν Κρήτῃ. τῆς δὲ Ἴδης λόφος Πύτνα, ἀφ' οὗ Ἱεραπύτνα ἡ πόλις. Ἱπποκόρωνά τε τῆς Ἀδραμυττηνῆς καὶ Ἱπποκορώνιον ἐν Κρήτῃ. Σαμώνιόν τε τὸ ἐωθινὸν ἀκρωτήριον τῆς νήσου καὶ πεδίον ἐν τῇ Νεανδρίδι, καὶ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων.

deal further to the east of these parts, and perhaps it may be on this account that Professor Hoeck[5] has supposed Hippocoronion to have been near Hierapytna. But Mount Ida and the Samonian promontory, both of which are named by Strabo in the same passage, have a good deal more than half of Crete between them: so that no great necessity can exist for supposing the other places enumerated to have been very near together. A reason for the loss, or rather corruption, of the first part of the compound, after the name of the ancient city was transferred to the district in which it was situated, may be found in the fact that the old word Hippos is lost to the modern Greek language[6]. Instances in which the name of an ancient city is thus transferred to a modern village near its site, or even to a district in or near which it stood, are not uncommon, and we shall find others in Crete.

Having obtained this gratifying information respecting the existence of ancient remains, similar to those examined yesterday and this morning, I pursued my journey towards and up the barren and unfrequented side of the mountain, and traversed a wild and dreary glen in the full hope of finding ere long some vestiges of another ancient city. At length I arrived at the hamlet of Kyriakusália[7], and one of its peasants offered

[5] Hoeck, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 434, and the map.

[6] Ἄλογον is commonly used to denote a horse by the modern Greeks. I am well aware that the component parts of many *compound* words of modern Greek are lost as independent words, though they exist in the compounds: thus ποιέω and οἶκος are entirely lost, though εἰδοποιῶ and οἰκονομῶ, οἰκονόμος, &c. are in common use, and would be understood by an ignorant peasant, who would neither know the meaning of the verb ποιῶ nor of the substantive οἶκος. Still we could hardly look for an instance of this peculiarity of the modern language in a proper name, and the change of Ἱπποκόρωνα into Ἀποκόρωνα seems to me easy and obvious.

[7] The etymology of Κυριακοῦ-σάλια, certainly a singular name, is quite evident. Σάλια, or Σαΐλια, which I wrote, on the spot, as the latter part of the word, is the ancient σίαλον, *saliva*. We cannot compare our English *Spittles*, corruptions of Hospital, with this place, which seems to owe its name to the genuine spittle of St Cyriac. Perhaps he may have resembled the Antimachus of Aristophanes: ψακὰς δὲ οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐπειδὴ προσέῤῥαινε τοὺς συνομιλοῦντας

to conduct me to the ancient walls. He took me to the cave of Hághios Mámas, and to a dripping source below it: thence, with no slight difficulty, I clambered up to the top of the hill, and found the supposed ancient remains to be walls of a middle-age fortress[8]. The reward which I obtained was a fine view of the whole plain of Apokórona, and of the bay of Armyró with Cape Dhrépano on its west: unfortunately I had scarcely enjoyed it for a moment before it began to rain. The only vestiges of buildings which I found were those of a church. A single wall surrounded the whole summit: remains of it are seen in a great part of its extent.

Finding, on my return to Kyriakusália, that I had not time to reach Fré[8], the principal village of Apokórona, by sunset, I proceeded only to Rhamné[9], a little hamlet, situated on the lower ranges of the White Mountains, to which a Greek undertook to shew Our Highnesses[10] the way from Kyriakusália. My stupid Turk

μιλοῦντας διαλεγόμενος: SCHOLIAST, on Aristoph. Ach. 1115. The σιαλόπηνον, of which he seems to have stood in need, is now called σαλιόπανον, a *bib*. See KORAY, ATAKTA, Tom. IV. p. 487. The village of Fré, mentioned a little further on, is Τὸ Φρέ.

[8] I have not called these fortresses Venetian, because, as we learn in the island's middle-age history, most of them were built by the Genoese.

[9] Εἰς τὴν Ῥαμνή. In Mr SIEBER's map of Crete, Rhamnus, which was at the south-western extremity of the island, is placed here.

[10] The expression used was still stronger. We were spoken of as οἱ βασιλεῖς by the Kyriokusálian, who suggested to the Rhamnian then in the former's village, that he ought to be our guide to Rhamné. The expression βασιλικοὶ ἄνθρωποι, I used to find common, both in Crete and elsewhere in Greece. In no part of Greece are titles so freely and ceremoniously bestowed as in Crete. Though the second person singular is the common form of the verb in conversation, yet no one uses the simple "Thou:" ἡ Αὐθεντιά σας, (the θ being omitted in pronunciation,) and ἡ Εὐγενεία σᾶς, are the phrases, especially the former, used in salutation, even between two peasants. I was addressed by them with such superlatives as Εὐγενέστατε, Ἐξοχώτατε, or Ἐκλαμπρότατε, but more commonly the abstracts, ἡ Εὐγενεία σᾶς, ἡ Ἐκλαμπρότης σᾶς, ἡ Κυριότης σᾶς, ἡ Ἐξοχότης σᾶς, ἡ Ὑψηλότης σᾶς, and so forth, were used. The rough Hydhraeans differ more, perhaps, than any other section of the Greek population, from the Cretans in this respect, the plain ἐσὺ being almost invariably their style of address to every one. Perhaps the Albanian race generally may resemble the Hydhraeans in this particular: but, although I spoke Greek when I travelled

knew neither the road nor any thing else. A very short ride, chiefly through groves of olives, brought us to Rhamné. The Proestós[11] of this village had such indifferent accommodation to offer, that he took us to the house of a friend, where however we certainly did not fare sumptuously, and had to sleep in the same room with our horses. The people were most anxious to do all they could for us: the Proestós spent some time himself in searching the village for eggs, which at last he found: the only addition to them consisted of olives, black barley-bread and plenty of excellent water[12]. The evening meal of my host and his wife was a dish of wild herbs, on which the Cretans seem chiefly to live[13]: they boil them, and then serve them up in oil; bread, olives, and sometimes cheese, completing the meal. On this occasion our accommodations were certainly most indifferent, and the people were fully aware of it. "What a difference there must be, said they, between Lóndhra and this place." They had never seen an European before. We found it cold in spite of our host's exertions to keep

velled in Albania, in the Summer of 1833, yet I was, at that time, hardly either able or desirous to note down peculiar differences between the language of those wild and lawless savages, and that of the inhabitants of other parts of Turkey and Greece.

[11] Ὁ Προεστός.

[12] When I asked for cheese, my host alleged his poverty as a sufficient reason for not having any: "τί θὰ κάμωμεν; φτωχοὶ εἱμεσθα· δὲν ἔχομεν τίποτες." (Aristophanes: πτωχοῦ μὲν γὰρ βίος, δν σὺ λέγεις, ζῆν ἐστὶν μηδὲν ἔχοντα.) The mat of rushes which served for a bed, the use of our saddles as pillows, and the presence of the usual disturbers of our night's rest, all following the miserable fare which we obtained, shew how faithful an account of the poor Greek's dwelling and habits, in the 19th century, is contained in the verses of ARISTOPHANES, (Plut. 537.)

Φθειρῶν τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ κωνώπων καὶ ψυλλῶν οὐδὲ λέγω σοι
ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, αἳ βομβοῦσαι περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνιῶσιν,
ἐπεγείρουσαι, καὶ φράζουσαι "πεινήσεις, ἀλλ' ἐπανίστω."
πρὸς δέ γε τούτοις ἀνθ' ἱματίου μὲν ἔχειν ῥάκος, ἀντὶ δὲ κλίνης
στιβάδα σχοίνων κόρεων μεστήν, ἣ τοὺς εὕδοντας ἐγείρει·
καὶ φορμὸν ἔχειν ἀντὶ τάπητος σαπρόν, ἀντὶ δὲ προσκεφαλαίου
λίθον εὐμεγέθη πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ.

[13] ARISTOPHANES, l. c. Σιτεῖσθαι δ' ἀντὶ μὲν ἄρτων
μαλάχης πτόρθους, ἀντὶ δὲ μάζης φυλλεῖ' ἰσχνῶν ῥαφανίδων.

up a good fire: the snow was lying on the mountains down to within fifty or sixty feet of the level of the village.

The daughter of the Proestós of Rhamné was taken prisoner, by the Mohammedans, during the war, and was sold as a slave at Alexandria, where she remained twelve years. On obtaining her freedom, a few months ago, she immediately returned to her native village, speaking both Turkish and Arabic nearly as fluently as her mother-tongue[14].

The party of Mohammedans, which carried off this young woman from Rhamné, fell in with my host's father on the same occasion. In conformity with their general custom, they put him to death. At the same period of the struggle the Christians used invariably to slay even their female prisoners: this was done to avoid, what was regarded as a still deeper crime than murder, improper familiarity between their own warriors and any woman who had not received Christian baptism[15].

Thus also, in the tenth century, on the capture of the Mohammedan capital of this then Mohammedan island, by the troops of Romanus II[16], we are told of the general massacre of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex; and the Christian poet, Theo-

[14] She came back as soon as ever her owner *τῆς ἔδωκε τὰ ἐλευθεροχαρτιά της*.

[15] "We did it *μὴ μολυνθῇ ἕνας Χριστιανὸς μὲ μίαν Τούρκισσα*," were the words in which I frequently heard the reason assigned. Most of the actors, in the events alluded to, still look back on the cold-blooded massacre of their ill-fated female prisoners, as the mere discharge of a religious obligation! Thus they afford an additional though needless example, of the dishonour and disgrace which redound to the sacred name of Religion, when once usurped by Superstition, or connected with Crime: and make us sympathize with the ancient Poet, who, after describing similar "scelerosa atque impia facta," of the miserable Superstition, which was called Religion in his day, exclaims,

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum!

[16] THEODOSIUS DIACONUS, Acroasis V. v. 85.

Κρήτης γὰρ οἷος τῶν ὀδυρμάτων στόνος·
οἷος σπαραγμός, γυμνὰ Ῥωμαίων ξίφη
ὅταν κατεῖδον ἔνδοθεν πυργωμάτων.

dosius Diaconus, praises the Emperor for his paternal solicitude to prevent the possible pollution of his Christian soldiers by familiarities with the unbaptized women of Crete[17].

The recent custom of the Christian insurgents in this island, repugnant as it is to *our* notions of religion and humanity, resembles the conduct which was sometimes enjoined on the ancient Israelites[18]. Their too lenient treatment of the Midianite women[19], whom they took captives "with their little ones," slaying only all the males, is represented as having excited the indignation of Moses[20]. Elsewhere the Greeks used to be more merciful to their female captives, than they were in Crete, during the early part of the struggle for independence: and an English missionary considers, that the great mischiefs, caused during the revolution by the captive women and the plunder, "throw light on the command of utter extermination laid upon the Israelites." I learn, from the same respectable authority, that "Turkish women have been a snare, even to several of the Greek Bishops; and they have thereby occasioned not only incalculable injury to these Ecclesiastics themselves, but have also brought infinite scandal on their profession[21]." These inconveniences the Cretan mode of warfare effectually prevented.

Feb. 18.

We descended into the plain by a stony mountain-path, and after passing a copious fountain, called White-

[17] THEODOSIUS, l. c. v. 104.

Τῶν οὖν στρατηγῶν ἦν ὑπηκόοις νόμος,
καὶ τοῦτο τῆς σῆς προσταγῆς σκηπτοκράτορ,
μὴ πρὸς γυναῖκας πορνικῶς καθυβρίσαι,
μήπως τὸ σεμνὸν εἰς ἀβαπτίστους κόρας
βάπτισμα χρανθῇ, καὶ μολυνθῇ σου στόλος.

[18] As with respect to Jericho: JOSHUA, vi. 21; and against the Amalekites: 1 SAMUEL, xv. 3, 8.

[19] NUMBERS, xxxi. 7—11. [20] Ibid. xxxi. 14—18.

[21] HARTLEY, Researches in Greece, p. 332.

Water[22], arrived at the Hellenic bridge[23]. I found a number of Greeks sitting round a chafing dish[24] in the little hut, called a coffee-house, just by the bridge: I drank a glass of wine with them, and was told that considerable Hellenic remains exist two miles inland at Alíkampo[25]. One of the company was a Papás, who, supposing, like most of his fellow-countrymen, that my journey could have solely a political object, addressed me very warmly in behalf of his fellow Cretans of the Christian faith, expatiating on the injustice they had suffered, at the hands of the Allied Powers, by being transferred to the dominion of Mehmét-Alí. He spoke of all that they had done, and of their present condition: "We are mere slaves now, have pity on us, and set us free. We arose and took our arms, and slew the Mohammedans, for the sake of our religion and of our Christ: he dwells above in his own kingdom, and will recompense our deliverers[26]."

On leaving this coffee-house to pursue our journey towards Rhíthymnos, we follow the eastern bank of the river which runs down from the White Mountains, and falls into the sea about a mile and a half from this bridge, near a hamlet called Armyró, where are seen the remains of a ruined castle. The valley is narrow here, and the modern fort was probably built both to

[22] Ἄσπρο Νερό.

[23] Στὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καμάραν. This is the "pons lapideus vetustissimus" of BUONDELMONTI, in Cornel. Cret. Sacr. Tom. I. p. 8. & 93.

[24] Which those who have read Mr Hope's Anastasius will know by its Turkish name, mangal, as it is commonly called in the East.

[25] Αλίκαμπος. On visiting this place, in the following August, I found that the ruins were entirely Venetian. Frequent mention is made of the place in the history of the Venetian domination. I will hereafter speak of the so called "*Spuren einer ausgezeichneten Stadt des Alterthums*," which Mr SIEBER, Reise, Vol. II. p. 280. fancied he could discern, among the modern huts of a hamlet near Alíkampo.

[26] Εἴμεθα σκλάβοι—νὰ μᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃς—ἐπάρομεν τὰ τουφέκια μᾶς—διὰ τὴν πίστι καὶ διὰ τὸν Χριστόν μας—ἐκεῖνος εἶναι ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν βασιλεία τοῦ, καὶ θέλει νὰ σᾶς ἀντευχαριστήσῃ. This verb ἀντευχαριστεῖν is used by Porphyry: see LOBECK, on Phrynichus, p. 18.

defend the village from any attack of pirates, and to command the gorge.

There was a good deal of fighting hereabouts at the beginning of the Greek revolution. On one occasion the Mohammedans effected their passage through the defile, and, on advancing into the district of Apokórona, fell in with more than a hundred Christians, who surrendered to them. These prisoners were all taken to a field near Kalýves, where most of them were put to death. Several were impaled, and the stake of one of the unhappy men who endured this cruel torture, fell with him during the succeeding night. On this he managed to crawl to a neighbouring fountain, assuaged his thirst with its water, and immediately expired[27]. This

[27] I was often told that those who suffered these horrible and excruciating torments, which were frequently inflicted on the Christians of Crete during the war, used always to cry out, while on the stake, Νερό! Νερό! Water! Water! The word used in Albania, and, partially, through Greece, to denote the sharpened stake, which is the instrument of destruction on these occasions, is *σουβλί*, a *spit*. FAURIEL, Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne, Tom. II. p. 36.

> Τὸν Διάκον τότε πῆρανε καὶ 'στὸ σουβλί τὸν βάλαν·
> ὁλορθὸν τὸν ἐστήσανε κ' αὐτὸς χαμογελοῦσε·
> "'Εμέν' ἂν ἐσουβλίσατε ἕνας Γραικὸς ἐχάθη."

The *σουβλί* is spoken of as used in several martyrdoms recorded in the Synaxaria. When heated, the iron skewers or spits are said to have been thrust into the bodies of the martyrs: see DU CANGE, Glossarium, 1407. Παλοῦκι, (on which see KORAY, ATAKTA, Tom. IV. p. 484. v. *ῥοῦμπαλον*, and compare DU CANGE, Glossarium, 1086: v. Πάλος.) is, perhaps, the word most generally used in Greece, to denote the stake on which any one is impaled; and which, in Crete, is called neither *σουβλί* nor *παλοῦκι*, but *καζήκι*, a word manifestly derived from the Turkish قازق *kazék* (a stake.) The words *σταυρὸς* and *σκόλοψ* both, originally, meant a straight and sharply-pointed stake, and are so expounded by Eustathius and ancient Lexicographers. The sharpened point was inserted in the body of the criminal: as in instances mentioned by Ctesias and Plutarch. It has been observed, by an English Prelate, that "the most prime and simple *σταύρωσις*, or *ἀνασκολόπισις*, was upon a single piece of wood, a defixus et erectus stipes." The "ancient Persian punishment," by which people suffered on such a stake, is spoken of by Herodotus and other authors. I should not suppose the Turkish custom to have been adopted from the Greeks or Romans, but rather to have been brought out of Asia. Man has generally been sufficiently able and willing to invent tortures for his fellow-creatures, in every part of the globe, to have had but little need of

event reminds us of the sacred narrative: "When Jesus had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished: and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost."

At no great distance from the coffee-house we saw in succession the villages of Kalamítzo and Xystópoli, on the hills which rise up a little to the west of the opposite bank of the river. At Armyró all is desolation: the castle was stormed and dismantled by the Greeks at the very commencement of their insurrection, and the village seems to have shared the castle's fate. A little to the east of it the salt spring, from which its name is derived, flows out of the bank: an acquaintance of mine once drank freely of its water, in the summer time, and quickly found out what potent virtues it possesses.

Amphimalla or Amphimallion[28] as it was sometimes called, must, as we have seen[29], have been in this neighbourhood. It would also appear from the anonymous Coast-describer[30], who speaks of Amphimatrion as 150 stades to the east of Minoa, near a river, and with

of borrowing the cruelties of other nations. The well-known Roman practice of putting certain classes of culprits to death, by impaling or crucifying, was abolished by Constantine: (AURELIUS VICTOR, Caes. c. XLI. SOZOMEN, H. E. I. 8.) not, as it seems, from motives of humanity, but from a superstitious reverence, manifested in many acts of his life, for the form of the cross: see the proofs in HEINICHEN, on Euseb. V. C. Excurs. I. p. 527. not. 42. Nevertheless similar cruelties were afterwards practised by Christian Emperors, for instance, in the reign of Maurice, (A. D. 583.) when one Paulinos was impaled by the neck, at the urgent request of the Patriarch. The head of the Oriental Church quoted the language of St Paul, to prove that a man, who had fallen off from the faith, ought to be consigned to the flames: THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTA, Hist. I. 11. p. 56. ed. Bonn. Ὁ δὲ ἱεράρχης—ἀποστολικώτερον ἐπειγόμενος πυρὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας τῆς πίστεως παραδίδοσθαι, ἐπὶ στόματος τὰ τοῦ Παύλου προφερόμενος ῥήματα—ὁ μὲν οὖν Παυλῖνος ἀνασκολοπίζεται ξύλῳ στερρῷ, τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες κεχηνότι ἀκρώρειαν.

[28] STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM, Ἀμφιμάλλιον, πόλις Κρήτης, ἀπὸ Ἀμφιμάλλου. ὁ πολίτης Ἀμφιμαλλιεύς, ἢ Ἀμφιμάλλιος. λέγεται καὶ Ἀμφίμαλλα. καὶ τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀμφιμαλλαῖος.

[29] Above, p. 47.

[30] STADIASMUS, p. 499. Gail. Ἀπὸ τῆς Μινώας εἰς Ἀμφιμάτριον στάδ. ρν'· ποταμός ἐστι καὶ λιμὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ παραχειμαστικός, καὶ πύργον ἔχει.

a harbour where vessels could winter, and a tower, that Amphimatrion must have been either on the site of the modern village, or, as is more probable, a little nearer to the sea. Pliny's order is Minoum, Apteron, Pantomatrium, Amphimalla, Rhithymna. A Pantomatrion is placed by Ptolemy to the east of Rhithymna: and, supposing with Professor Hoeck and every other modern geographer, that there were two towns, Amphimatrion and Pantomatrion, I see not how to get over the difficulty of Pliny's collocation, unless we suppose that for Pantomatrium, Amphimatrium ought to be substituted. It therefore follows that, if Amphimatrion was at Armyró, Amphimalla must have been somewhere in this neighbourhood; and the mention, in Ptolemy, of the Amphimallian gulf, as situated to the east of Cape Drepanon, seems likewise to be conclusive evidence that Amphimalla was somewhere on this part of the coast. Before leaving the island we shall frequently see how very near to one another the ancient towns, even when of greater importance than Amphimalla and Amphimatrion, used to stand.

I had scarcely passed this supposed site of Amphimatrion, and neighbourhood of Amphimalla, before my guide again lost the road. Ere long we were rambling at the foot of the hills on the south edge of the narrow plain which runs along the shore from Armyró eastward. In somewhat less than three quarters of an hour we arrived at Murní[31], a small hamlet, where we had great difficulty in procuring something to eat, of which we were greatly in want, having most improvidently neglected to take any provisions with us.

There is a small lake near this place, at the foot of the hills: it is called Lake Kurná[32]. The name is derived from a village, consisting of about eighty Christian and five Mohammedan families, situated on the hill above it. The people told me that there are no fish in the lake. Buondelmonti's account, after passing, when at sea, the

[31] Μουρνί. [32] Τοῦ Κουρνᾶ ἡ λίμνη.

mouths of the rivers in the plain of Apokórona, is that they saw a rocky coast, and, at no great distance, a river, which his description identifies with this of Armyró. According to his information the little lake Kurná was full of fine eels[33].

Although I heard of no ancient remains near this lake, it would seem highly probable that the place Corion and a temple of Athene were both in its neighbourhood. This observation has been made by Mr Sieber[34] and also by Professor Hoeck[35]. Stephanus of Byzantium mentions the place, temple, and lake[36]. I can hear of no

[33] BUONDELMONTI, in the Creta Sacra, Vol. I. p. 8. Postea per saxa navigando non longe est flumen Cephalourisus (he means Kefalovrýsis, or, to use Greek letters, Κεφαλοβρύσις) in cujus ore Ecclesiuncula in mare posita nova erigitur, qui per planum fertilem currens, pontem lapideum vetustissimum habet, in quem, versus Orientem, flumen salsum a radicibus montis per multa ora veniens, subito decurrit: ab alio latere ejusdem montis, in profundis convallibus, non magnus sed profundus est lacus, quod ingentes nutrit anguillas.

[34] SIEBER'S Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. II. p. 267.

[35] HOECK'S Kreta, I. p. 432.

[36] STEPHANUS BYZ. Κόριον, τόπος ἐν Κρήτῃ ἀπὸ κόρης τινός. ὁ πολίτης Κορήσιος. καὶ λίμνη Κορησία. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν Κορησίας. There is a Corium spoken of by SERVIUS, on Aen. III. 111. Alii Corybantes ab aere appellatos, quod apud Cyprum mons sit aeris ferax, quem Cyprii Corium vocant. Now the Corybantes are frequently identified with the Idaean Dactyls, as in NONNUS, XIV. 23.

> Καὶ βλοσυροὶ Κρήτηθεν ἀολλίζοντο μαχηταί,
> Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι, κραναῆς ναετῆρες ἐρίπνης,
> γηγενέες Κορύβαντες·

(see also STRABO, X. p. 473. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 232. and LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 1145.) and no place called Corium is known to have existed in Cyprus, while, as we have already seen, (above p. 58.) the Idaean Dactyls are mentioned as Cretans by several ancient authors. Many ancient authors likewise name the Corybantes as natives of Crete, and this became the general opinion, long before the time of Servius: see LOBECK, l. c. I therefore suppose *Crete*, and not Cyprus, to have been either written or meant by Servius. The interchange of the words Crete and Cyprus is not uncommon. It is said, in GRAEVIUS, Antiq. Rom. Tom. VII. p. 1673. that Theodora, the wife of Justinian, was born in *Crete*, and that the emperor built, in this island, a city Justiniana Secunda, in honour of her: and yet Nicephorus Gregoras, the authority referred to for the assertion, speaks of course of Cyprus. Again, BRYANT, Observations on the ancient history of Egypt, Additional Remarks, p. 280. ed. Cambr. 1767, says, meaning to speak of *Cyprus*; (see STEPHANUS BYZ. v. Κορώνη:) "That the

other lake in the island, and the identity of this permanent physical feature more than makes up for the slight change in the name. Salmasius and Berkelius both wished to read Artemis instead of Athene in the passage of Stephanus, because Callimachus[37] gives to that goddess the epithet of Corian. But, as is observed by Holstenius[38], both Pausanias[39] and Cicero[40] mention the Corian Athene or Minerva, and therefore no alteration is necessary in the text of Stephanus.

I ought to have kept close to the shore, towards which I now proceed, and in less than an hour arrive at Dhrámia, a little village entirely occupied by Sfakians, who descend from their homes, on the higher ranges of the mountains, in the month of October or November, and remain here till the following April. If they staid up in Sfakiá, they would be confined to their houses, by the snow, for several weeks in the winter: and those who remain lay in a stock of food and fuel before the heavy falls of snow, just as if they were going to sea for some weeks.

The word Dhrámia[41] reminds me of the ancient city Hydramon, which is placed 100 stades to the east of Amphimatrion in the Maritime Itinerary, and would therefore seem to have been still further to the east towards Rhíthymnos. At the same time the fertility of the little plain running between the mountains and the shore here, is such as to have rendered its neighbourhood an eligible situation for a city. The Cretan city Hy-

the name given him originally by the Greeks was Koronus, is manifest from a place in *Crete*, which was sacred to him, and is mentioned by the name Coronis." I suppose the same remedy to be required in the passage of CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, Stromat. Vol. I. p. 362. quoted by LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 1156. Κέλμις καὶ Δαμναμενεὺς οἱ τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων πρῶτοι ἐν Κύπρῳ τὸν σίδηρον εὗρον.

[37] CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Artemis, v. 234.

[38] On STEPHAN. BYZ. l. c. See also SPANHEIM, on Callimach. l. c. CREUZER, on Cic. N. D. p. 624. fol. NAEKE, on Choeril. p. 143. and SIEBELIS, on Pausan. Tom. III. p. 261.

[39] PAUSANIAS, VIII. p. 639.

[40] CICERO, N. D. III. 23.

[41] Τὰ Δράμια.

dramia mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium[42], without any indication of its situation, was doubtless the same as this Hydramon.

But little doubt can be entertained that the name of Hydramon is preserved in Dhrámia, and that the ancient city existed either on this spot or in its neighbourhood. Many of the distances in the Periplus have been so falsified by the errors of copyists, that no reliance can be placed on them, where other considerations shew a difficulty of reconciling them with what we can make out of the ancient topography. Its author, after mentioning Hydramon, says, according to what I suppose to be the true reading of an undoubtedly corrupt passage, that "its city is called Eleuthera: and to go up from Pantomatrion to Eleuthera is 50 stades[43]." The Eleuthera spoken of seems to be the same town as is elsewhere mentioned under the name of Eleutherna, and we know that Rithymna was the port of Eleutherna. We may perhaps suppose the territory of that inland city to have extended a little to the west of Rhithymna, so as to have included in it this sea-port Hydramon, which, though considerably further from Eleutherna than Gortyna was from Metallon or Lebene, and than Lyttus was from Khersonesos, was yet almost as near to it as Lappa was to its port Phoenix.

All these considerations had certainly not passed through my mind when, disgusted and annoyed as I had so repeatedly been, by the ignorance and stupidity of my Turkish guide, and revolving in my mind plans by which I might hope to succeed in replacing him by

[42] STEPHANUS BYZ. Ὑδραμία. πόλις Κρήτης, ὡς Ξενίων ὁ τὰ Κρητικὰ γράψας. οἱ πολῖται Ὑδραμιεῖς, ὡς Μεγαρεῖς.

[43] STADIASMUS, p. 499. ed. Gail. Ἀπὸ Ἀμφιματρίου εἰς Ὕδραμον σταδ. ρ'. πόλις ἐστίν· ἔχει αἰγιαλόν· καλεῖται δὲ ἡ πόλις Ἐλευθέρα· πεζῇ δὲ ἀναβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Παντοματρίου στάδια ν'. I have written Παντοματρίου instead of the second Ἀμφιματρίου, which is found in the common text, and στάδια instead of μίλια. The distances thus agree with the position of Eleutherna, and with the situation of all the places on the shore mentioned by the author himself.

a better at Rhíthymnos, I descended the brow of the little hill at the foot of which a river flows between Dhrámia and the village of Episkopé and divides the eparkhías of Rhíthymnos and Apokórona.

I should mention, with respect to this Turk, that he had but recently arrived from Anatolía, and spoke not a single word of Greek; the consequence of which was, that he could not make himself understood by any of the people: and thus, in addition to the annoyance caused me by his ignorance of the country, I was not left unmolested by him, even on arriving at our resting place for the evening; but had to act as his interpreter.

As I was passing the village of Dhrámia then, about an hour before sunset, I met a tall and handsome Sfakian, who, after a great deal of Cretan politeness in salutations and compliments, learnt from me, that I was going to travel all over the island, and that I wished to make myself thoroughly acquainted with it. On this he offered to be my guide, assuring me, and he afterwards verified his assertion, that no one could be better acquainted with Crete than himself, and that it would afford him great pleasure to accompany me. Our pecuniary arrangements were easily completed, and he agreed to come on to the village of Episkopé, with mules to replace the horses of my Turk, early in the evening.

Captain Maniás was born at Askýfo, the principal place in the eastern part of Sfakiá, and lost his father when very young. At the outbreaking of the Greek Revolution he was only about sixteen years of age, and, for some time after its commencement, he was always near the person of his uncle Búzo-Márko, who fell in the year 1825, as one of the leaders of the party which attempted to surprise the impregnable rock of Grabúsa, in the night, and to carry it by assault[44]. In constant attendance on his uncle, he soon began himself to take

[44] See the Cretan song on this subject at p. 78.

an active part in the affairs of the war, and ere long became a Captain, having a considerable body of men under his standard. In the interval between the submission to Khuseín-bey and the insurrection in 1829, he armed a kaík, and made descents upon the coast of Crete, chiefly in the province of Sitía, where he made prisoners, in the space of less than two years, sixty-four Mohammedans, if his own story be true, which I believe it to be. The prisoners he sold as slaves, and most of them were soon redeemed. Kasos was the mart where he disposed of them. From 1829 till the period of final submission to the Egyptians, he had his share in the engagements which took place; and, as I have heard from other Greeks, for I must say that he did not sound the trumpet of his own military exploits, he distinguished himself as one of the foremost combatants on several occasions. The life of war, rapine and bloodshed, which he had led, proved of the highest utility to me, for it had made him so well acquainted with every hill and dale, path and river, in the island, that there were few parts of it where he would not have proved an unerring guide even at midnight[45].

I thought myself fortunate in meeting with such a person, especially since daily intercourse with him would render me better acquainted with that most remarkable part of the population of Crete, the Sfakian mountaineers, than I could possibly have become by a mere ramble of ten days or a fortnight in their mountains.

This Sfakian accompanied me during the greater part of my travels in the island, and proved himself to be a man, who, though entirely destitute of education, was yet possessed of extraordinary abilities, and was certainly, I believe, quite unequalled in most of the important qualities of a guide in such countries. I gladly avail myself of my artist's pencil to present the interesting mountaineer to my reader.

[45] He said to me *νὰ σᾶς ὁρμηνέψω εἰς ὅρα τὰ μέρη τῆς Κρήτης, καὶ τὰ μεσάνυκτα*, where *ὁρμηνέψω* and *ὅρα* stand for *ἑρμηνεύσω* and *ὅλα*.

I was greatly struck with the peculiar dialect of my new guide, which differed so much from every thing I had heard in any part of Greece, and even in Crete itself, that at times, on this first interview, I was not a little at a loss to catch the words he used[46], and had often to ask him to repeat what he had said.

The following is a fragment of a Cretan song, on the unsuccessful attempt, made by Búzo-Márko and his comrades, on the castle of Grabúsa: it is in the dialect of Maniás and his fellow Sfakians.

[46] For instance χαριρόγου, which meant χάριν λόγου verbi gratia.

Τρεις ἀνδρειομένοι πορπατοῦν
τὴν Κρήτη τὴν καιεμένη,
σὰν ἐξαδερφοὶ κ' ἀδερφοί
σὰ φίροι πιστευμένοι.

σὰν ἦσαν ἀπὸ μιά κοιλιά,
σὰ φάγα ἕνα γάρα,
ἔτζι ἀγαπηθήκανι
περίσσια καὶ μεγάρα.

τὸν ἕνα λέγα Ξεπαπᾶ
τὸν ἄρρο Μπουζο-Μάρκο
κ' ὁ Καπιτάνι Παναγῆς
ἀποῦ φυράγη στὸ Κάστρο.

μὰ αὐτοὶ ἀποφασίσανι
τὴν Γραμποῦσα νὰ πατήσουν,
κ' εἰς τὴν Γραμποῦσα τῆς Τουρκιάς
ἕνα νὰ μὴν ἀφήσουν.

ὁ Μπουζο-Μάρκος ἔβγανε
πρῶτος εἰς τὸ μπιντένι,
κ' ἐφτὰ 'νομάτους ἔκοψε
μόνο μὲ τὸ μαχαίρι.

μὰ ἀλλᾶσθε ἀπάνω, μπραὶ παιδιά,
στοὺς Τούρκους νὰ γιουργιάρω,
διατὶ δὲν βγαίνω 'γὼ 'π' ἐδά
ὄξω καὶ νὰ 'ποθάνω.

* * *

ὁ πρῶτος ὃ σκοτώθηκεν
ἦτον ὁ Μπουζο-Μάρκο,
μ' ἔπειτας ἐσκοτώθηκαν
οἱ τρεῖς Καπιταμέοι.

THREE warriors each his wand'ring steps
O'er hapless Crete now wends,
If cousins, or e'en brothers, they
Had not been firmer friends.

As if one mother all had borne,
And nourished at her breast,
Thus 'twas that each his warmest love
Did on the others rest.

One was ycleped Xepapás,
Another Búzo-Mark,
The third was Captain Panaghés,
Once cast in dungeon dark.

They all decreed, Grabúsa's rock
That from the foe they'd wrest;
Nor, in Grabúsa, would permit
One Musulman to rest.

And Búzo-Márko 'twas, who first
Did on the rampart stand,
And seven soldiers there did he
Cut down with his good brand.

"Leap up, leap up, my warriors bold,
"And on the Turks with speed
"We'll rush, for hence I don't retreat
"If death be not my meed."

* * *

First Búzo-Márko on the ground
Was stretched by deadly blow;
And soon, by numbers overcome,
The Captains all lay low.

Episkopé now consists of about sixty dwellings: it contained near three hundred at the outbreaking of the revolution, and, as in every other village, the heaps of ruined houses remain as the flames left them, and present a picture of desolation, which, in a country of such fertility and possessing such undeveloped resources, is quite lamentable. On entering the village I was struck with its devastated and lonely aspect; and on my making an observation on the subject to an inhabitant, he replied that "the Christians had burnt all the houses:" an answer which shewed that he was a Mohammedan, as I learnt that most of his fellow-villagers are. I found half a dozen of them in the coffeehouse of the village, smoking their pipes; the ordinary occupation of followers of the Prophet. I had no little difficulty in obtaining a lodging, although at last I met with very tolerable accommodation in the house of a Christian. Captain Maniás came to me in the evening, and told me that he had found mules, and should be ready, early in the morning, to start for the antiquities, which as I learn from him, are to be seen at Pólis, a large village on the northern slopes of the Sfakian hills, and a little to the south of our present restingplace.

RUINS AT POLIS.

CHAPTER VI.

CAPTAIN MANIAS. CEREMONIOUS POLITENESS OF THE CRETAN PEASANTRY. SITES OF POLICHNA, AND LAMPE, OR LAPPA. FOUNTAIN OF THE HOLY VIRGINS. IDENTITY BETWEEN ANCIENT AND MODERN SUPERSTITIONS. CRETAN FOUNTAINS, POPLARS, AND PLATANES. VENETIAN REMAINS AT AND NEAR HAGHIOS KONSTANTINOS. CRETAN ORANGE-TREES. MONASTERY OF PROPHET-ELIAS. RESEMBLANCE OF THE MODERN GREEK MONKS TO THE CONTEMPORARIES OF JEROME. ARRIVAL AT THE GATES OF RHITHYMNOS.

February 19.

CAPTAIN MANIAS, who had gone back to Dhrámia for the night, returned to us about half past seven this morning with the mules, and, soon after, we set off for

Pólis, which is also called Gaidhurópolis[1], the City of Asses, and is situated at no great distance from Episkopé. It is within the confines of Rhíthymnos, though very near the borders of Sfakiá. My guide, once told that I am anxious to procure all the coins I can meet with, allows no one, man woman or child, to pass us without questioning them whether they have any thing of the sort "in gold, silver or brass", and thus we advance but slowly. He also meets many people of his acquaintance, and the formality with which salutations and compliments are exchanged between them is quite amusing[2].

[1] Ἡ Πόλις or Γαϊδουρόπολις. The word γαδοῦρις (γαϊδοῦρις is far more common in Crete, and is, I think, alone used) occurs, instead of ὄνος, in the poem of THEODORUS PTOKHOPRODROMUS, II. 476. addressed to the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, and has long been the only current word for ass in every part of Greece. Γαιδάρος is another common form of it. Since this name Gaidhurópolis has obviously been derived from the metaphorical sense of γαϊδοῦρι, which is just as common, in Greek, as that of the corresponding word is in French or English, it calls to mind the Poneropolis of Stephanus of Byzantium; and will suggest to those who have seen any of the numerous villages called Kakó-khorió, although well situated, and in no respect worse off, as far as one can see, than other places in their neighbourhood, the obvious etymology, which in fact any Greek peasant, if asked why the village received its name, invariably gives: διατὶ ἦσαν κακοὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Thus also we may account for the fact that some villages, though positively unhealthy, are yet called Kaló-khorió. The Cretan's γαϊδοῦρι is also called by him his κτῆμα, a word which, in Crete at least, is used for any kind of κτῆνος horse, mule, or ass. I have no doubt they would apply it to camels if they had them. Their usage seems to be a preservation of an ancient sense of the word: μέχρι τοῦ νῦν παρὰ πολλοῖς ἡ ἐν ζώοις περιουσία KTHMATA λέγεται, says EUSTATHIUS, on the Iliad, p. 999, 17. See also p. 494, 4. Οἱ χωρητικώτεροι τῶν ἄρτι κτήματα φασὶ τὰ τετράποδα. Koray has mentioned this and pointed out the passage of SOPHOCLES, (Antig. 781.) Ἔρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν, Ἔρως ὃς ἐν κτήμασι πίπτεις, where some critics have wished to read κτήνεσι, and others, even the most recent, have proposed interpretations far less probable than that suggested by this Cretan usage.

[2] The ceremonious politeness, even of the poorest people in Crete, whenever they meet and address one another, is very striking. When a visitor goes into a house, his first exclamation is, commonly, the general and peculiarly Cretan greeting, πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη σᾶς, or rather πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη εἰς τὴν Αὐθεντίαν (pronounced Ἀφεντιά) σᾶς: (in which phrase alone I have found the old word ἔτη preserved in the modern language.) The host immediately replies, Καλῶς ὡρίσατε ἡ Εὐγενεία σᾶς, the *title* of course varying with the visitors, or pronounces some other form of welcome. Mutual enquiries after health are then made, and, at length, the visitor is asked to sit down. While

I reap the fruits of the active part played by him in the war, for he has a story for every step of the road, and recalls to my mind the words of Cicero when at Athens, "Quocunque ingredimur in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus." If I may form a judgement from the evident pleasure he takes in relating "these moving accidents by flood or field," I shall constantly hear of them till his stock be exhausted.

Before arriving at Pólis we find considerable remains of a massive brick edifice, at one end of which are some buttresses each fifteen feet wide and projecting about nine feet. Close by are remains of an odd circular building, about 60 feet across in its interior. Each of the recesses, shewn in the sketch at the head of this chapter, is rather more than a semicircle, with a diameter of about eleven feet. The whole is built of moderate sized stones. About 300 paces to the south-south-west of Pólis is an ancient cistern 76 feet long and nearly 20 feet wide. A rapid descent on the western side of the village conducts to considerable remains of a Roman brick building, beyond which, in the deep valley between Pólis and the mountain Phterolákο, runs the stream which divides the eparkhía of Apokórona from that of Rhíthymnos. Several large caves, containing water both summer and winter, as well as many ancient tombs, excavated out of the solid rock, are said to exist in the neighbourhood of Pólis. Ancient coins are also said to be found in great numbers in the fields

While pronouncing the first greeting, the hand is usually placed on the breast, and the head and upper part of the body are inclined forward. The hand is sometimes put in the Turkish way, first to the lips and then to the forehead, especially by Mohammedans, on all occasions, and by Christians when addressing a person of rank. Maniás *never* asked a question of any peasant we met on the road without bestowing on him the preliminary compliments of good wishes, and an enquiry after his health. It seems that the peculiarity of these very ceremonious salutations, in the manners of the Cretans, is also found among the Afgháns, even the poorest among whom, whenever a visitor goes in, hear and pronounce several complimentary phrases, in addition to the ordinary *Salám-Aleïkúm*, and *Aleïkúm-Salám* of a Musulman meeting. See Mr ELPHINSTONE's Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, p. 235.

about the village, but of those shewn to me the greater part were Venetian. I saw many beautifully shaped ancient earthenware lamps, two of which I purchased. There are remains of some Venetian buildings in the village, one of which was evidently a large palace. Its substructure differs so remarkably from the body of the building, that I cannot but believe it to have belonged to an entirely different age, and to have formed part of a much more ancient edifice. Over the gateway of the Venetian building, at its north-eastern corner, I read

OMNIA.MVNDI.FVMVS.ET.VMBRA.

a moral aphorism, of the truth of which Venice herself has certainly afforded a memorable example. What a contrast between her state at the time to which these few words carry us back, and at the present day! Then, the shade of her power was spread over several of the fairest countries in the world: now, her very name is blotted out from the list of nations. And yet how little can any one, who loves his kind, regret her fall!

It only remains for us to determine what ancient city existed here.

The author of the "Description of Ancient Greece" supposes it to have been Polichna[3], a town mentioned by both Herodotus[4], and Thucydides[5]; the latter of whom tells us that the Polichnians were neighbours of the Cydonians. Professor Hoeck too seems to place Polichna here.

We want, as is evident from the ruins, a city of some importance in Roman times: and, from what we have seen in determining the site of Aptera, it is pretty plain that Pólis is situated between Amphimalla on the northern shore, and Phoenix on the southern; which latter site we know to have belonged to the Lappaeans. Now it appears from Scylax, that the territory of Lampe or Lappa extended from sea to sea: we know that it

[3] CRAMER, Vol. III. p. 380.
[4] HERODOTUS, VII. 170.
[5] THUCYDIDES, II. 85.

contained Phoenix: nothing therefore can be more probable than that the city was here, and that its domain extended along the eastern bank of the considerable stream which flowed by it, right down to the gulf of Amphimalla. The passage of Scylax teaches us that "next after the Apteraean district, which is on the north, comes the Lampaean, and this extends to both shores, and the river Mesapos is in it[6]." Here we have the territory adjoining on that of Aptera, except, near the northern shore, where the small state of Amphimalla may have been conterminous with it for a mile or two, and we have seen that the principal river of the district flows within a mile of the existing remains, and may therefore, without much doubt, be put down as the Mesapos. The distance of Pólis from the Palaeókastro, near Súdha, is very little more than nine miles, the distance, according to the Peutinger table, from the port of Aptera to Lappa.

Stephanus of Byzantium[7] tells us that Lappa, or Lampe, as he calls it, was founded by Agamemnon, and was called after one Lampos a Tarrhaean; the interpretation of which story seems to be that it was a colony of Tarrha[8].

Although the two forms of this city's name occur in ancient authors, yet both on coins[9] and in inscrip-

[6] SCYLAX of CARYANDA, p. 18. Huds. Εἶτα ἡ Λαμπαία, καὶ διήκει αὕτη ἀμφοτέρωθεν, καὶ ποταμὸς Μεσάπος ἐν αὐτῇ ἐστί. This river Mesapos seems also to be spoken of by Dicaearchus, who mentions it in connexion with Amphimalla, which as we have seen, was near it. This extension of territory to both shores, and the possession of the port Phoenix, sufficiently account for our finding maritime symbols on the coins of Lappa: MIONNET, Tom. II. p. 286.

[7] STEPHANUS BYZANT. Λάμπη, πόλις Κρήτης, Ἀγαμέμνονος κτίσμα, ἀπὸ Λάμπου τοῦ Ταῤῥαίου.

[8] HOECK's Kreta, I. p. 388.

[9] The error of PELLERIN, Recueil, etc. Tom. III. Pl. XCIX. No. 42. in supposing a coin of this city to have the legend ΛΑΜΠΑΙΩΝ, misled ECKHEL, Catalog. Mus. Caes. Vindobon. I. p. 128. n. 5. whose mistake is faithfully followed by Mr MIONNET, Supplément, Tom. IV. p. 326. (Paris, 1829.) although Eckhel had himself corrected it, Doctrina Num. Vet. Vol. II. p. 315. "Idem Pellerinius—effecit ut alteri simili, sed in quo adrosa fuit epigraphe,

tions[10] the word Lappa seems alone to be found. Stephanus of Byzantium[11] shews plainly that the two names denote the same city, when he says that Xenion in his Cretica wrote the word Lappa, and not Lampe.

It was with the hospitable citizens of Lappa that the Lyttians found refuge after their town had been treacherously destroyed by the Cnossians[12]. When Cydonia, Cnossos, Lyttos, and Eleutherna had all submitted to the arms of Metellus, the victorious Roman advanced against Lappa, which was taken by storm[13], and would appear to have been almost entirely destroyed. We find that about the time of the battle of Actium, Augustus, in consideration of the aid rendered him, by the Lappaeans, in his contest with Anthony, bestowed on them their freedom, and also restored their city[14]. The reader will remember that the remains seen at Polis are evidently Roman[15].

One of the inscriptions relating to the city of the Lappaeans, is very imperfect in Gruter, and is not altogether correct in the Musaeum Italicum of Mabil-

epigraphe, in urbis hujus moneta stationem adsignarem. At serius numos similes integriores nactus facile vidi, nequaquam ΛΑΜΠΑΙΩΝ, sed ΚΑΣΣΩΠΑΙΩΝ legendum, et esse utrumque Cassopes Epiri."

[10] The one quoted a few lines lower down, and one of the Teian inscriptions in CHISHULL, Antiquitates Asiaticae, p. 122. are the only two preserved inscriptions of Lappa that I have met with.

[11] Under the word Λάμπη he says, Ξένιον δὲ ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς διὰ δύο ππ γράφει τὴν πόλιν τὴν Κρητικὴν καὶ διὰ δύο αα καὶ διὰ τοῦ λ.

[12] POLYBIUS, IV. 53.

[13] DION CASSIUS, XXXVI. 1. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Λάππαν—ἐκ προσβολῆς εἶλε.

[14] DION CASSIUS, LI. Tom. I. p. 633. ed. Reimar. Καὶ τοῖς γε Λαμπαίοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνεστῶσαν συγκατῴκισε.

[15] The head of their benefactor Augustus is exhibited on the coins of the Lappaeans: one has the epigraph ΘΕΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ: others of Domitian and Commodus are found: see HARDOUIN, Nummi Antiqui. pp. 93, 94. MIONNET, Tom. II. p. 286. Supplém. Tom. IV. p. 326. RASCHE, Tom. II. Part. II. 1493. On the autonomous coins of Lappa, from which Spanheim supposed the city to have possessed the right of asylum, like the Grecian states enumerated in Tacitus, see ECKHEL, Doctrina N. V. Vol. II. p. 315.

lon and Germain[16]. It mentions one Marcus Aurelius Clesippus in whose honour it would appear that the Lappaeans erected a statue.

Lappa became an episcopal see after the establishment of Christianity: the name of its bishop is recorded as present at the Synod held in Ephesus, A.D. 431; at the Chalcedon Council, A.D. 451; and on many other subsequent occasions enumerated in the Creta Sacra of Cornaro[17].

A modern Episcopal district in Crete comprehends the eparkhías of Sfakiá, Hághio Vasíli and Amári. Its ecclesiastical dignitary is called indifferently bishop of Hághio Vasíli, and bishop of Lámpe[18]. It is manifest that the ancient district of Lappa included, since it extended down to the Sfakian coast, a great part of the modern diocese. If Lappa was the Cretan form of this word[19], it is singular that Lampe should have been uniformly preserved down to the present day in the Bishop's title[20].

There is found on a hill to the south-east, about an hour distant, what the people call asemókhoma[21], whence silver may be obtained[22]. With this fact we may compare the mention, in the journal of Buondelmonti, of mines of gold, silver and lead as existing at

[16] This inscription is in GRUTER, p. MXCI. and in MABILLON, Mus. Ital. Tom. I. p. 33. and is also contained in the Vatican Codex, No. 5273. See CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. p. 251. It is

ΛΑΠΠΑΙΩΝΗΠΟΛΙΣΜΑΡΚΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ
ΚΛΗΣΙΠΠΟΝΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΚΑΙΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡ.

Mabillon writes the first word ΛΑΜΠΠΑΙΩΝ.

[17] CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Tom. I. pp. 251, 2.

[18] Ὁ *ἁγίου Βασιλείου*, or Ὁ *Λάμπης*.

[19] As it is supposed to have been by Professor BOECKH, Corpus Inscriptionum Graec. Vol. II. p. 428. The site of *Lyttos* still retains its ancient Cretan name.

[20] HIEROCLES, Synecdemus, p. 650. ed. Wessel. LEONIS NOVELLA, in MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 208. Ὁ *Λάμπης*: see also RASCHE, Lex. Rei Num. Tom. II. Part. II. 1492.

[21] Ἀσημόχωμα, that is, *ἀργυρόχωμα*, *ἀσήμι* being the modern Greek for silver: see DU CANGE, Gloss. 138. KORAY, ATAKTA, IV. p. 300.

[22] Μὲ *τὴν δούλευσιν*, as my informant added.

Pólis[23]. My reader will remember that the celebrated Mount Berecynthos is also a part of the same range of the White Mountains, and is no more a mere calcareous rock than are the hills about Lappa.

On leaving Pólis we descend for some time: after seeing several tombs, on our left, we pass the church of Haghíae Parthénoe[24], of which my guide speaks with deep feelings of religious respect; and a hundred paces farther, a most copious fountain, on our right, deriving its name from the same holy and miracle-working virgins to whom the church is dedicated, and who also preside over the waters[25]. The Venetian senator, Flaminio Cornaro, has described the miraculous phenomena which used to be seen at this Christian source[26], and which deserve to be

[23] BUONDELMONTI, in CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. p. 17. He mentions the church of Hághios Konstantínos, and then proceeds: "a qua cum per frondifluos (*leg.* fontifluos) montes, et virentia prata disceditur, minera auri et argenti ac stamni videtur, quae hodie Stimpolis (by Stimpolis he means εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, ἡ Πόλις, or Pólis) nominatur, quaeque in altissimo monte collocata est." Compare also p. 108.

[24] Αἱ ἁγίαι Παρθένοι.

[25] I find both the church and fountain celebrated by BUONDELMONTI in CORNELIUS, p. 17. "Fons est cujus latitudo XX, longitudo vero XL passuum est, cum incisis lapidibus. Prope autem in proclive istarum aquarum, per centum passus Ecclesia est, in qua quinque sepulcra antiquorum discooperta, et aquis plena sunt." He adds, (Cornel. Cret. Sac. p. 108.) "Ecclesia est, juxta quam sepulcra quinque discoperta et aqua plena videbis, in quibus egroti homines ob reverentiam illarum quinque prudentium Virginum, in quibus tenent ibi fuisse sepultae, se lavant, et ex devotione purgare videntur."

[26] CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Tom. II. p. 148. In ea Ecclesia, per minorem januam aditus patet ad coemeterium, in quo quinque urnae sunt ex vivo marmore scalpri ictibus elaboratae, ad longitudinem quinque pedum, ad latitudinem vero duorum cum dimidio. Quinque hae urnae, ut ex traditione acceptum est, sepulcra erant quinque Sanctarum Virginum, quae sub quodam Rege Tyranno, cujus nomen ignoratur, martyrium capitis abscissione compleverunt, earumque imagines, corona redimitae crucemque manu deferentes, in Ecclesia adhuc visuntur. Quamvis autem urnae hae in arido loco sitae sint, ubi nullum proximae aquae indicium invenitur, attamen miro prodigio aquas habent: *cumque a multis devotionis causa visitentur, aqua, juxta virorum pietatem et devotionem, vel redundat, et ex urnis defluit, vel decrescit, et ad ariditatem deducitur.* He then quotes the above cited passage of Buondelmonti, and adds: Haec ad eruditi lectoris curiositatem attuli, quorum tamen fides sit apud citatos auctores. Most of his readers will probably

compared with the similar, and even still more wonderful performances of a Pagan spring which formerly existed at Tyana[27].

No educated traveller can fail to notice the identity between many of the superstitions equally prevalent among both ancient and modern inhabitants of various parts of Greece. It is manifest that beings, created by the lively imagination of the Greeks in olden times, are still objects of veneration at the present day: and the religious feelings of the Cretan, in the nineteenth century, towards these Holy Virgins of the fountain, differ very little, if at all, from those entertained for the Naïds by his heathen ancestors[28].

probably agree with him in the sentiment with which he concludes. The statement respecting the rise of the water on the approach of a pious person, reminds me of a legend of the Holy Land, recorded by DE VILLAMONT, Voyages, Liure II. fol. 196. ed. Paris, 1602. according to which the waters of a deep well, in a village near Bethlehem, rose even to its summit, when the Virgin Mary passed through the place, and, though very thirsty, could persuade no one to draw her some water: à un moment l'eau creut iusques au bord du puits, et la Vierge beut de l'eau à sa suffisance.

[27] Described by the Author of the amusing book *περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, ARIST. Tom. II. p. 845. ed. Bekk. *Τοῦτο εὐόρκοις μὲν ἡδύ τε καὶ Ἵλεων, ἐπιόρκοις δὲ παρὰ πόδας ἡ δίκη. ἀποσκήπτει γὰρ καὶ εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας, καὶ εἰς πόδας—αὐτόθι ἔχονται καὶ ὀλοφύρονται πρὸς τῷ ὕδατι, ὁμολογοῦντες ἃ ἐπιώρκησαν.* Ancient superstition and credulity assigned equally wonderful and miraculous properties to many other springs and rivers; as to the well-known fountain of the Sun, in the Cyrenaica, and, to give another, though an unnecessary, instance, to the fountain of Potniae, near Thebes, which used to cause madness: (PAUSANIAS, IX. p. 727. AELIAN, N. A. XV. 25.) thus the unfortunate Glaucus was torn in pieces, by his own steeds, as soon as he had suffered them to drink of its waters: see HERMANN's Dissertation, de Aeschyli Glaucis, Opuscula, Tom. II. pp. 59—75.

[28] HOMER, IL. XX. 7.

Νυμφάων, ταί τ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται,
καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν, καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα.

ODYSSEY, XVII. 240.

Νύμφαι κρηναῖαι, κοῦραι Διός.

SERVIUS, on VIRGIL, Ecl. VII. 21. HEYNE, Var. Lectt. et Obss. in Hom. IL. Tom. VIII. p. 7. VOSSIUS, de Orig. et Prog. Idolol. II. c. LXXX. p. 262. LOMEIERUS, de Lustrat. Vet. Gentil. p. 174. seqq. ed. Ultraj. 1681. MUNCKER and VERHEYK, on Antoninus Liberalis, c. XXXI. p. 265. ed. Koch. HERMANN, Opuscula, Vol. III. p. 291. This religion of fountains and

The mythology of ancient Italy also supplies us with similar instances of holy virgins, supposed to dwell in fountains and rivers, which were consequently objects of religious veneration to the people. Thus the Poet sings of Anna Perenna,

> Corniger hanc cupidis rapuisse Numicius undis
> Creditur, et stagnis occuluisse suis[29]:

and the same deified being was believed to keep watch over other waters[30]. The "domus Albuneae resonantis[31]," and another still more sacred source, which existed in the vicinity of Rome, may likewise be mentioned.

> Egeria[32]! sweet creation of some heart,
> Which found no mortal resting-place so fair
> As thine ideal breast.

and rivers appears still to be preserved, in much of its heathen force, among some stems of the Slavonian race: see the authors indicated in MALTE-BRUN, Géographie Universelle, Tom. VI. p. 557, 8. The water-deities used to receive the highest honours in the old religion of Germany, and, as late as the twelfth century, the Pagan Prussians thought the sanctity of their sacred groves and fountains would have been polluted by the approach of any Christian: HELMOLDUS, in Cluver. German. Antiq. I. c. XXXIV. Solus prohibetur accessus lucorum et fontium, quos autumant *pollui Christianorum accessu*. It is said by Professor J. GRIMM, Deutsche Mythologie, pp. 278, 9. that, even at the present day, "obgleich das Christenthum—die alten Wassergeister als teuflische Wesen darstellt, so behalt das Volk doch eine gewisse Scheu und Verehrung bei, und hat noch nicht allen Glauben an ihre Macht und ihren Einfluss aufgegeben." With respect to Greece, it is observed by FAURIEL, Chants populaires de la Grèce Moderne, Tom. I. p. LXXXII. "Aujourd'hui, comme autrefois, point de rivière en Grèce, point de source, point de montagne, de rocher, de caverne, de maison même, qui n'ait son génie.

[29] OVID, Fasti, III. 647. Compare HEYNE, Exc. III. on Virg. Aen. VII. RUPERTI, on Silius Italicus, I. 666.

[30] VIRGIL, Aen. XII. 139.

> Deam, stagnis quae fluminibusque sonoris
> Praesidet.

[31] HORACE, Od. I. 7. 12. VIRGIL, Aen. VII. 82. where SERVIUS writes: Sacro fonte: nullus enim fons non sacer.

[32] LIVY, I. 21. OVID, Fast. III. 275. HEYNE, on Virgil, Aen. VII. 761. JUVENAL, III. 13. 19. Sacri fontis nemus—Numen aquae. In the last passage Wakefield (on Lucret. I. 131.) wantonly proposes to read Flumen instead of Numen. SULPICIA, Sat. V. 67.

> Nam laureta Numae, fontesque habitamus eosdem.

In later times Great Britain herself could boast, while the mythology of modern Rome, engrafted on old Pagan superstitions, formed an essential part of her religious creed, of many such Water Nymphs or Holy Virgins. The fountain of Saint Wenefrede, in Wales, used, in those ages, to be constantly the resort of pious pilgrims, and has not, even at the present day, wholly ceased to be an object of religious veneration[33]. On the contrary, Saint Anne's sacred source, at Buxton in Derbyshire, which is so honourably mentioned by Drayton[34], is no longer considered as entitled to religious respect: and has totally lost those miraculous powers, which it was formerly supposed to derive from the immediate presence and favour of its Virgin Saint[35].

In ancient Britain a native Goddess, identified, like the Greek Athene, with their own Minerva by the Romans, was believed to preside over all hot springs[36]; thus St Anne was probably the immediate successor of the Pagan deity.

Unlike the British Minerva and the subsequent Virgin Saints who took charge of hot springs in England, the Nymphs of Greece were formerly wont to preside only

[33] PENNANT, Tour in Wales, Vol. I. pp. 28—40. On the decollation of the Saint, an event which she survived fifteen years, the spring burst from the place where her severed head rested, and "the valley, which, from its uncommon dryness, was heretofore called *Sych nant*, now lost its name—the waters were almost as sanative as those of Bethesda—and all infirmities incident to the human body met with relief. The resort of pilgrims of late years to these Fontanalia has considerably decreased. In the Summer a few are to be seen in the water, in deep devotion, up to their chins for hours. Few people of rank at present honour the fountain by their presence." The Pagan well-worship has been more generally preserved in the sister island: see CROKER, Researches in the south of Ireland, c. XV.

[34] DRAYTON, Polyolbion, Song XXVI.

[35] LAMBARDE, Dictionarium, p. 48. (quoted in Dodsley's Collection of Old Plays, Vol. I. p. 50. ed. Lond. 1780.) "Within the parish of Bacwell, in Derbyshire, is a chappel in a place called Bucston, wheare there is a hotte bathe—Hither they weare wont to run on pilgrimage, ascribing to St Anne miraculously, that thinge which is in that and sondrye other waters naturally."

[36] SOLINUS, c. XXII. Fontes calidi opiparo exculti apparatu ad usus mortalium: quibus fontibus praesul est Minervae numen.

over cold sources. They usually transferred the other kind to the care of Heracles. Thus though the celebrated waters of Himera and Egesta were said to have been *produced* by the Nymphs[37], yet it was simply that the hero might enjoy the luxury of a hot bath after the fatigues of his long journey. The well-known springs which gave Thermopylae its name[38], and many other similar sources, were supposed to have been caused to flow, by the benevolence of Athene[39], that they might thus serve to refresh the son of Zeus and Alcmena after his various labours[40].

The Nymphs of the ancient Greeks used to delight no less in caves, where drops of water ever kept distilling from the living rock[41], than in these perennial springs. Such natural temples are chiefly appropriated, at the present day, not, like this fountain near Pólis, to the old Divinities under new names, but to the Virgin Queen of

[37] And hence were called Θερμὰ Νυμφῶν λουτρά, by PINDAR, Ol. XII. at the end: see DIODORUS SICULUS, IV. 23. Μυθολογοῦσι τὰς Νύμφας ἀνεῖναι θερμὰ λουτρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν γενομένης αὐτῷ (Ἡρακλεῖ) κακοπαθείας· τούτων δὲ ὄντων διττῶν, τὰ μὲν Ἱμεραῖα, τὰ δὲ Ἐγεσταῖα προσαγορεύεται.

[38] PISANDER, in Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1047.

Τῷ δ' ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
ποίει θερμὰ λοετρὰ παρὰ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης.

They are mentioned by STRABO, IX. p. 428, as θερμὰ ὕδατα, τιμώμενα ὡς Ἡρακλεῖ ἱερά.

[39] ZENOBIUS, VI. 49. Ἡ Ἀθηνᾷ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνῆκε πολλαχοῦ θερμὰ λουτρὰ πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν τῶν πόνων.

[40] Hence Heracles became notorious for using only these hot baths: ARISTOPHANES, l. c.

Ποῦ ψυχρὰ δῆτα πώποτ' εἶδες Ἡράκλεια λουτρά;

I have little doubt that the Turkish khamám of the present day is derived from the conquered Greeks, and resembles the Heraclean bath in question. This modern usage is an instance of Mohammedan civilization, which might well be imitated in Christian countries.

[41] ODYSSEY, XIII. 103.

Ἄντρον ἐπήρατον ἠεροειδές,
ἱρὸν Νυμφάων, αἳ Νηϊάδες καλέονται—
ἐν δ' ὕδατ' ἀενάοντα.

PORPHYRY, on the grotto of the Nymphs, c. VIII. p. 8. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς νύμφαις ἀνετίθεσαν ἄντρα, καὶ τούτων μάλιστα ταῖς Ναΐσιν, αἳ ἐπὶ πηγῶν εἰσί, κἀκ τῶν ὑδάτων, ἀφ' ὧν εἰσὶ ῥοαί, Ναΐδες ἐκαλοῦντο, δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνος.

Heaven, whom the modern mythology describes as "more glorious than the Cherubim, and beyond comparison more honourable than the Seraphim," and from whose commandments her credulous and superstitious votaries pray that they may never swerve. Thus a Panaghía Spelaeótissa, or Virgin of the Grotto, may now be found in every part of Greece, receiving, from the Christian peasant, honours not unlike those bestowed in ancient times on the Nymphs and Pan, of whose temples she has obtained possession.

Fountains and wells, among the modern Greeks, when not possessed by any Virgin Saint, are sometimes the abode of a Spirit, called Στοιχεῖον, Element, and belonging to a class of supernatural beings, the existence of which is every where believed in by the peasantry[42].

[42] KORAY, ATAKTA, Tom. IV. p. 550. *Στοιχεῖα σήμερον πιστεύει ὁ ἀπαίδευτος λαὸς τὰ κακοποιὰ δαιμόνια* (lutins, esprits follets), *ἢ φάσματα* (spectres), *καὶ Στοιχειωμένον οἶκον ὀνομάζει τὸν κατεχόμενον καὶ ἐνοχλούμενον* (*ὡς πιστεύουν*) *ἀπὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα δαιμόνια οἶκον.* The phrase Στοιχειωμένος οἶκος, calls to mind the verses of AESCHYLUS, Suppl. 645.

Δῖον ἐπιδόμενοι, πράκτορά τε σκοπόν
δυσπολέμητον, δν οὔτις ἂν δόμος ἔχοι
ἐπ' ὀρόφων μιαίνοντα· βαρὺς δ' ἐφίζει.

On the usage of the word Στοιχεῖον, in the sense of Demon, by Platonists and other writers, see DU CANGE, Glossarium, 1453. There is also a good account of the word in KORAY, l. c. p. 549. These Στοιχεῖα are described in the so-called testament of Solomon, cited by GAULMIN, on Psellus, de operat. daemon. p. 113. and by LEO ALLATIUS, de quorund. Graec. opin. p. 163. (see also SUIDAS, v. Ἐζεκίας, and KORAY, l. c. p. 527.) *Κἀγὼ Σαλομὼν ταῦτα ἐθαύμασα καὶ ἐπερώτησα λέγων, καὶ ὑμεῖς τίνες ἐστε; οἱ δ' ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἔφασαν μίᾳ φωνῇ, καὶ εἶπον, ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν τὰ λεγόμενα Στοιχεῖα, οἱ Κοσμοκρατοῦντες τοῦ σκότους* (or *κόσμου*) *τούτου.* There seems to be an allusion here to the words of St PAUL, Ephes. VI. 20. Several Fathers of the Church, who of course did not share in the heresies of Manicheans, Euchitists, or Satanians, recognized Satan's host of inferior demons as *κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου δαίμονας*: see GAULMIN, l. c. Similar Spirits are mentioned by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXI. 1. Elementorum omnium spiritus, utpote perennium corporum praesentiendi motu semper et ubique vigens, ex his, quae per disciplinas varias affectamus, participat nobiscum munera divinandi: et substantiales potestates ritu diverso placatae, velut ex perpetuis fontium venis vaticina mortalitati suppeditant verba. The Στοιχεῖον of the modern Greeks is also called Τελώνι: see DU CANGE, Glossarium, 1541. VILLOISON met with the Spirit, bearing this latter name, in Myconos, and says, in the Annales des Voyages, Tom. II. p. 180, that there, "avant de puiser,

This Water-spirit is of the male sex, and delights to entice young maidens to visit the chambers of the well-furnished and splendid palace in which he resides, within the waters of his well or fountain[43].

I suppose these notions to be vestiges of opinions, once inculcated by Fathers of the Church, respecting the Pagan water-spirits, which, until they received, as it were, Christian baptism, and the name of a Saint, were naturally treated as demoniacal beings[44].

puiser de l'eau, on salue trois fois. On m'a dit que c'est pour honorer le génie qui préside au puits, le *teloni*." Villoison refers to ARTEMIDORUS, Oneiroc. II. c. 27, whose words are: *Φρέαρ δὲ ἰδεῖν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἢ ἐν ἀγρῷ οὐκ ὂν πρότερον, ἀγαθόν· οὐσίας γὰρ ἐπίκτησιν σημαίνει· ἀγάμῳ δὲ καὶ ἄπαιδι γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας. Νύμφαι γάρ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ φρέατι.* The Τελώνια used to be also called Τελέσματα, and from this word the Arabic *talisman*, which has since found its way into English and other European languages, was derived: see DU CANGE, l. c. 1540. and GEUSIUS, Victimae Humanae, P. I. Cap. XX.

[43] LEO ALLATIUS, de quorund. Graecor. opinat. p. 166. In puteis itaque, Στοιχεῖον, de quo loquimur, sed grandioribus, et qui cavernis internis, veluti thalamis, distinguuntur, saepissime dicitur ludere: apparet enim supra puteum Aethiops homuncio sedens, nemini molestus, nihil dicens, foemellas ad se nutu gestuque advocans; quas, si accesserint, benevole excipit; et tradunt, multa de suo elargiri: si non accesserint, non curat, nec malus est erga eas. Saepe etiam, repulsa indignatus, in puteum proripit se; adolescentulas forma honesta ac liberali, quarum amore capi dignoscitur, solicitando et pollicitando in fraudem illicere conatur. Et, ut magis admireris, non desunt qui dicant, nonnullas, donis delinitas, homuncioni sua obstrinxisse; ideoque ab eo, tanquam familiares, in puteos delatas, et in pulcherrimos thalamos, omnium rerum apparatu ditissimos ac splendidissimos, intromissas, et post diutinam moram, cibo potuque refectas, extra puteum asportatas, et cum vellent postea semper, dummodo pusionis cupidinem non fefellissent, thalami aditus patuisse. Idque inter alios maxime asseveranter traditur de ingenti puteo, quod in horto Cavaci est, à quo paucissimi, propter ejus magnitudinem, et forte etiam religione quadam ducti, aquam hauriunt. Sic etiam Chii—est puteus—non admodum profundus, ore angusto, sed caveis undique ac fornicibus subnixus: ex eo quasi semper nocte media homo, equo, eoque ferocissimo, insidens, egreditur, et ea via concitatius nec sine strepitu currendo itque reditque, cum demum in eundem puteum, cum equo cadit: hominem *Veniam* dicunt: et res ista adeo est rumore omnium vulgata, ut, si quis ambigeret, insanire à vicinis illis diceretur. Et cum aliquem, quasi mentis inopem, ludunt, interrogant, an ex puteo Veniae biberit: *ἔπιες ἀπὸ τὸ πηγάδι τοῦ Βένια.*

[44] LEO ALLATIUS, l. c. Nec mirum est, similes spiritus ut plurimum in puteis, et fontibus, aut locis aliis, aquis lutoque obsitis, conspici: nam, ut testatur TERTULLIANUS libro de Baptismo: *immundi Spiritus aquis incubant;*

Crete is celebrated for the number and copiousness of its springs and fountains at the present day[45]: and they certainly make the country very unlike many parts of the arid regions of Greece. In the neighbourhood of Gortyna, the fountain of Sauros is said to have been surrounded by poplars *which bore fruit*[46]: and, on the banks of the Lethaeos, also in the great Gortynian plain, was another copious and celebrated source. It was shaded by a noble platane, believed by naturalists to retain its foliage throughout the winter, and supposed by the people to have covered with its branches the nuptial couch of Europa and the metamorphosed Zeus, when the God landed, with his young and lovely bride, on the banks of the neighbouring river[47].

bant; sciunt opaci quique fontes, et avii quoque rivi,—et putei, qui rapere dicuntur, scilicet per vim Spiritus Nocentis. Thus the Water-spirits of Tertullian derive their power from the great Arch-Fiend, and form one of the six orders of the Satanic host, (as distinguished by the learned MICHAEL PSELLUS, in his book *περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων*, p. 45. ed. Gaulm.) all of which are described as hating God and hostile to man: *εἶναι δὲ πάντα ταῦτα τῶν δαιμονίων θεομισῆ καὶ ἀνθρώποις πολέμια.* They consist of, 1st, the *Igneous* (*τοῦτο δὲ περὶ τὸν ὕπερθεν ἡμῶν ἀέρα περιπολεῖν*): 2d, the *Aerial* (*ὃ καὶ καλεῖσθαι παρὰ πολλοῖς ἰδίως ἀέριον*), which occupies the Earth's circumambient atmosphere: 3d, the *Terrestrial* (*τὸ χθόνιον*): 4th, the *Aqueous* (*τὸ ὑδραῖον*): 5th, the *Subterraneous* (*τὸ ὑποχθόνιον*): 6th, the *Light-hating* (*τὸ μισοφαές*). Now, although all these demons are haters of God, and hostile to man, still some of them are worse than others: the most destructive and malicious are the *Aqueous*, the *Subterraneous*, and the *Light-hating*: *τὸ γὰρ ὑδραῖον τε καὶ ὑποχθόνιον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ μισοφαές, ἐσχάτως ἐπιχαιρέκακα καὶ ὀλέθρια.*

[45] A Cretan, now living in exile at Nauplia, thus speaks, *πρὸς τὴν δεινοπαθεστάτην πατρίδα του*:

> *Τὰ γλυκύτατα νερά, τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρασία,*
> *ἡ πλουσία σου αὐτὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀφθονία.*

[46] THEOPHRASTUS, H. P. III. 5. *Ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ καὶ αἴγειροι κάρπιμοι πλείους εἰσί. μία μὲν, ἐν τῷ στομίῳ τοῦ ἄντρου ἐν τῇ Ἰδῃ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀνακεῖται· ἄλλη δὲ μικρά, πλησίον. ἀπωτέρω δέ, μάλιστα δώδεκα σταδίους, περὶ τὴν κρήνην Σαύρου καλουμένην, πολλαί.*

[47] THEOPHRASTUS, H. P. I. 15. VARRO, de re rustic. I. 7. PLINY, XII. 1. Est Gortynae in insula Creta juxta fontem platanus una, insignis utriusque linguae monumentis, nunquam folia dimittens. Statimque ei fabulositas Graeciae superfuit; Jovem sub ea cum Europa concubuisse. These passages are mentioned by MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 38. I need hardly subjoin that my enquiries after any evergreen platanes in Crete were unsuccessful.

After following, for about two hours, a road unequalled for impracticability by any I have yet seen in the island, we arrived at the village of Hághios Konstantínos, distant about four miles from Pólis, and took up our quarters in the house of a cousin of Captain Maniás. It being Wednesday, the Greeks eat only boiled herbs and bread, to which was added, for us, salt-fish, eggs, and a preparation of camel's flesh, called pástruma, of which I cannot speak very highly. We also obtained plenty of excellent wine; and, during the evening, the two warriors or klefts, by whichever name it is right to call them, amused both themselves and their hearers by recounting several events of the war, especially exploits in which they had themselves a share. They are both Sfakians, and I find that my host as well as my guide, invariably substitutes ρ for λ in a great number of words.

February 20.

Many of the villagers came to my host's house, anxious to conduct me to the Hellenic buildings, which were to be seen, they said, in and about the village; and which proved to be remains of the houses of feudal proprietors, the Venetian Cavalieri of the middle ages. After this, my host, Joseph Russákes, offered to accompany us to a fountain, at which he assured me there were ancient walls and inscriptions. This fountain, a most copious source, is about a mile to the east of the village, and is under two fine plane-trees. It is at the side of a plateau, about a hundred paces long and twenty wide, at the extremity of a little valley, full of cypresses, bay-trees, orange-trees, carobs, platanes, and myrtles. The place is so entirely abandoned that, as Russákes told me, no one comes even to gather the oranges[48]. With con-

successful. The peasants said, "Perhaps it may be so elsewhere, but it is quite impossible for any plane-tree to retain its leaves through the winter in Crete."

[48] The orange-tree flourishes greatly in Crete: and the bazár of Khaniá was well supplied with oranges during my stay in that city. No less than twelve different

siderable difficulty, and after much trouble in clearing away moss and weeds from the fountain, I succeeded in making out the following inscription:

FRANCISCVS BAROCI
VS IACOPI FILIVS PRO
PTER PARENTVM ET
AMICORVM SVORVM
ANIMI RECREATIONE(M)
LOCVM HVNC PER
ORNAVIT MDIX.

At the other extremity of this little vale, which is about half a mile long, is another piece of raised ground, with its fountain: the whole was evidently a delightful summer retreat during the time of the Venetians; and, even at the present season of the year, the words of Tasso serve as a faithful description of its beauties.

Se non disdegni il seggio ombroso, e'l monte,
E'l dolce mormorar del chiaro fonte,
Quì siedi, e spazia tra bei fiori e l'erba,
Nella stagione acerba[49].

About a mile hence is the village of Rústika[50], and the monastery of Prophét-Elías, which contains thirteen kalógheri and an Hegúmenos[51], all of whom were absent gathering their olives when we arrived: the news of so

different kinds of this fruit are produced in the island, and the varieties of the lemon are nearly as numerous. See SIEBER, Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. I. p. 74. A large quantity is annually exported.

[49] TASSO, L'Armonia, vv. 8—11.

[50] Τὰ Ῥούστικα.

[51] I write *an* Hegúmenos, wishing to preserve the sound of the latter word as used by the Greeks, who, like the Italians, never sound the aspirates. Hegúmenos seems preferable to Egúmenos, on account of the existence of the aspirate in the written Greek. Mr FALLMERAYER, who leaves no stone unturned to discover traces of Slavonian immigrations into Greece, attributes, in his work, Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea waehrend des Mittelalters, p. 236. this loss of the aspirate, in the modern language, to the presence of those northern conquerors. It is undoubtedly singular, that the Slavonian dialects should not possess the aspirate, which the modern Greeks have lost, and which must have been very distinctly pronounced by the ancients.

unusual an event as a visit from Europeans soon brought the Hegúmenos or Abbot to us.

These monks seem to adhere closely to the first principles of their order; and to act in strict, though doubtless in unconscious compliance, with the precepts of many Saints and Fathers of the Church. Most of them, even including not unfrequently their Abbot, are thus supported by the daily labour of their own hands. The description of the early monastic institutions, in Bingham, will best shew how little the Greek monks of the nineteenth century differ from the contemporaries of Jerome. "All monks were obliged to exercise themselves in bodily labour, partly to maintain themselves without being burdensome to others, and partly to keep their souls well guarded, and as it were out of the way of Satan's strongest temptations. For Cassian notes it is a very wise saying of the Egyptian fathers, that a labouring monk was but tempted with one devil, but an idle one was exposed to the devastation of a legion. And therefore St Jerome, writing to his friend Rusticus the monk, bids him be sure to exercise himself in some honest labour, that the devil might always find him employed. They did not then think that working was inconsistent with the other duties of a monk, but one necessary part of his office and station; and St Austin wrote a whole book to prove this to be their duty[52]." It would be easy to extend the parallel to the extraordinary fastings and the extraordinary devotions which are still practised by the oriental monks.

The Hegúmenos told me, while we partook of wine, fruits, and coffee in his cell, that the monastery was entirely destroyed by the Mohammedans during the war, and that to restore the church, and the few dwellings in which they now live, they had to borrow 15,000 piastres. Their possessions are about 2000 olive-trees and

[52] BINGHAM, Antiquities of the Christian Church, B. VII. Ch. III. §. 12. On the gross ignorance of the modern monks, in which point they probably equal their predecessors, I have already spoken above, p. 32.

some carobs. In the court-yard of the monastery are suspended three bronze bells of Venetian manufacture, with the maker's name and their dates (1634 and 1636) on them. Little more than a mile from Rústika we crossed a streamlet in a very picturesque valley, where the platane and walnut were the only trees that were not adorned with their green foliage: the former was covered with ivy, and generally had a vine twining round its trunk to a height of thirty to forty feet. We soon after traversed a plain near four miles long and about two broad, and from which we had a fine view of the Sfakian mountains covered with snow, and appearing very beautiful as the Sun shone on their magnificent outline. The first village through which we passed is Priné: it is not above two miles from the northern sea, and contains many indications of the Venetian rule. Above one doorway is a mutilated coat of arms and an inscription:

TRAHIT SVA QVEMQVE VOLVPTAS
ANN. $\overline{\text{DNI}}$. MDCXLIII. PRID. KAL. IVL.

A good many cypresses are scattered among the olives by which this village is surrounded, and produce a very pleasing and picturesque effect.

Leaving Priné and passing Alitsópulo, we soon descended to a curious bridge, to take a sketch[53] of which, though it was near sunset, we halted for some time. The principle of its construction is one of which I do not suppose any instance to exist in England: it costs the builder much less to content himself with a single row of arches, and to make the road descend to them at each end of the bridge. But though this method is unemployed at the present day, the ancient Romans made use of it very frequently, especially in carrying an aqueduct across a valley: and sometimes, as at the Pont du Gard near Nismes, and elsewhere, they built three series of arches one above the other, raising the bridge to the level of

[53] Seen at p. 101.

the water. Near this bridge are excavations in the rock, one of which is a chapel of Hághios Antónios.

We arrived at the gates of Rhíthymnos a little after sunset, and after making the Arab sentries understand that we wanted admission, a messenger was dispatched to the Governor, who, however, did not think proper to order the gates to be opened, and we were therefore obliged to sleep at a little hamlet about a mile from the city.

UNIV. OF MICH.

A. Schranz del.

L. Haghe Lith.

RHITHYMNOS.

J. Murray, Albemarle St.

BRIDGE TO THE WEST OF RHITHYMNOS.

CHAPTER VII.

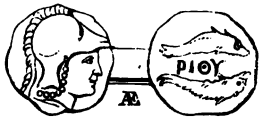
RHITHYMNA. VISIT TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHITHYMNOS. THE MOHAMMEDAN SABBATH. ACCOUNT OF THE KURMULIDHES. EXPLOITS OF GLEMEDH-ALI, AND CRETAN SONG ON HIS DEATH. VILLAGE OF PEGHE. SPYRIDHON PAPADHAKES. ATROCITIES PERPETRATED DURING THE GREEK REVOLUTION. PRODUCE AND CONSUMPTION OF OIL IN CRETE. CONVENT OF ARSANI. MENDICANT PRIESTS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES. PERAMA NOT THE SITE OF PERGAMOS. MELIDHONI AND ITS GROTTO. DESTRUCTION OF CHRISTIANS WHO TOOK REFUGE IN IT. MOUNT TALLAEOS. TALOS. ANCIENT HUMAN SACRIFICES. ACCOUNT OF THE GROTTO AND ITS INSCRIPTION. MODERN CHRISTIAN NAMES.

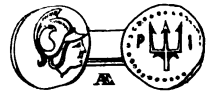
February 21, 1834.

My companion made a sketch of Rhíthymnos from the neighbourhood of these cottages, in one of which we had slept, about a mile to the eastward of the city.

The ancient Rhithymna, on the site of which Rhíthymnos is undoubtedly situated, does not seem to have been a place of much importance. It is mentioned by Ptolemy[1] and Pliny[2] as the first town on the north coast to the eastward of Amphimalla, and is spoken of as a Cretan city by Stephanus of Byzantium, in whose text its name is written Rhithymnia[3]. It is also alluded to by the poet Lycophron[4]. Mannert has erroneously supposed the Hydramon of the Periplus, which, as we have seen, was probably near the modern Dhrámia, to be the same place with Rhithymna[5]. The Greek Bishop of Rhithymnos has preserved the ancient name of his see[6]; thus also I found the Bishop of Cydonia[7] at Khaniá.

Eckhel first assigned to Rhithymna its ancient coins[8]: maritime emblems are found on them.





There is another, given in Khell's Appendix to the Thesaurus Britannicus, the place of which I long supposed not to have been as yet pointed out. I find, however, that it is rightly given to Rhithymna by Rasche[9].

Rhíthymnos is undoubtedly a more considerable place among the cities of Crete at the present day, than Rhithymna was in former times[10].

[1] PTOLEMY, Geograph. III. 17.

[2] PLINY, N. H. IV. 20. Amphimalla, Rhithymna, Panhormum.

[3] STEPHANUS BYZANT. Ῥιθυμνία, πόλις Κρήτης. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ῥιθυμνιάτης καὶ Ῥιθύμνιος. See him also in the words Βοβώνεια and Νικωνία.

[4] LYCOPHRON, Alex. 76. Ῥειθυμνιάτης κέπφος ὣς ἐνήξατο; where most of the MSS. (vid. Bachm.) agree in the ει, and where one Scholiast calls the city Ῥειθυμνία and another Ῥίθυμνα.

[5] MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VIII. p. 696.

[6] He is called ὁ Ῥιθύμνης. [7] Ὁ Κυδωνίας.

[8] ECKHEL, Numi Veteres Anecdoti, p. 155.

[9] RASCHE, Lexicon Rei Numariae, Tom. IV. P. I. 1024.

[10] ECKHEL has observed this, Doctrina N. V. Vol. II. p. 320. "Olim parum cognita, hodie illustrior, nomine Retimo." *Retimo* is its general European name; and, like so many other corrupted appellations of ancient cities,

Wishing to walk over the citadel, to do which the Bey's permission was requisite, I determined to visit him; although I had hardly forgiven his want of courtesy last night. His seraglio, as it is called, is a large and dilapidated building, near the port. Near its entrance were a number of straggling Arab regular soldiers, and some sentries. I found the Bey walking about the room as I entered it; a sure sign that a Turk belongs to the old school of ignorance and prejudice, and wishes to avoid having to rise from his seat when an European traveller enters his apartment. He was very tall, very fat, and very dull: was greatly surprised at my talking Greek and a little Turkish, and suggested that I had only to perfect myself in Turkish, and to learn Arabic, in order to know all existing languages. He was profuse of apologies for last night's incivilities at the gates, and assured me that had he been aware that it was I, they should have been immediately opened.

It being Friday, the Mohammedan sabbath[11], and the chief day on which visits of ceremony are paid in every part of Turkey, the principal officers of both the regular Arab troops and the Arnauts, visited the Governor, each of the latter accompanied by a few of his rough followers in their shaggy white capotes. These attendants remained in the room, standing of course, during the whole interview. On leaving the Bey I visited the citadel, the guard at the gate of which was turned out as I entered. I found it just like most other Turkish forts: such guns as are not absolutely dismounted being either broken or unserviceable from rust and neglect. I noticed several large bronze Venetian swivels among them.

cities, though well known in Europe, has never been heard here, except among the Frank population. Italians or Frenchmen could not have been expected to preserve the θ, *th* of Rhithymna.

[11] One reason assigned, for regarding Friday as the day of prayer and repose, is because God finished the creation on that day. SALE, Koran, The Assembly, c. LXII. Vol. II. p. 438. A different account is found in RELAND, de relig. Mohammed. p. 99, and farther information on the subject may be obtained from SALE's Introductory Discourse, Sect. VII.

The present population of Rhíthymnos is upwards of three thousand souls, of whom only about eighty families are Christians. Here the character of the bazárs, and streets, which are better than those of Khaniá, is entirely Turkish.

I have already spoken of the general apostasy, which began to take place in Crete soon after the Turkish conquest, and in consequence of which about half of the whole population of the island consisted of Mohammedans at the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, thirteen years ago.

It is not only in modern Crete and Albania that a Christian population has shewn this readiness to abandon the religion of their forefathers. The early Saracenic conquerors of Christian principalities and kingdoms seem every where to have brought about the rapid conversion, to their own faith, of those among whom they established themselves. Thus in Spain the apostasy soon became general, although, for a while longer, members of the sacerdotal order were still found, who professed Christianity, using, however, the *Mozarabic* liturgy, and, like many of the so-called Christians of their day, conforming to the most important ceremonial observances of Islamism. Again, in Sicily, the religion and language of the Greeks were at once eradicated; "and such was the docility of the rising generation, that fifteen thousand boys were circumcised and clothed, on the same day with the son of the Fatimite caliph."

Thus also the acquisition of Crete by the Saracens of Spain in the ninth century, seems to have led to the rapid conversion of nearly the whole population to the faith of the Crescent: and when, at length, this long lost jewel was restored, by the valour and good fortune of Nicephorus Phocas, to the Imperial Diadem, the canonization of Nicon the Armenian became the hardly earned reward of his zeal and success, "in extirpating the false doctrines of Mohammedanism" from the soil of the island.

On the second conquest of Crete by Mohammedan invaders, some of the wealthier inhabitants of Megálo-Kástron and its neighbourhood are said, after openly renouncing Christianity, to have retained, in secret, the faith in which they had been baptized; and to have handed it down, in the same manner, to their descendants. Their exoteric doctrine alone was the faith of Islam, their esoteric was still that of the Cross. Among such families that of the Kurmúlidhes is celebrated, throughout the whole island, both for what was done by them before the Greek revolution, and for what they have suffered since. They were a powerful and wealthy house or clan, established at Khusé, in the fertile plain of Messará. They had conformed to the newly introduced religion, almost immediately after the Turkish conquest[12]; but, unlike the majority of the new converts, had their children secretly baptized, and bestowed on them *Christian* names. On subsequent circumcision, each of them received his Mohammedan appellation of Ibrahím, Khuseín, and so forth: thus every Kurmúlis was nominally a Mohammedan, and in reality a Christian.

According to the general testimony of all the Cretans, this distinguished family used to exert a great influence in the whole plain of Messará, and invariably protected the Christians against all violence and oppression from their Moslem neighbours. Still, now and then, fears would arise in the breast of each Kurmúlis respecting his prospects, with reference to the other world: and, at length, one of them, the uncle of the present head of the family, some years before the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, determined to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and to ask "the Bishop" there, whether a sincere Christian, who professed Islamism and was sup-

[12] My chief informant, the present head of the family, with whom I became acquainted at Nauplia, where he was living in exile, was circumcised as Ibrahím-agá, having been baptized Ioánnes, and says that their custom began in his great-grandfather's time. He is about forty years of age, and the four generations take us back almost to the time of the Turkish conquest.

posed to be a true believer in it, could be saved. The Bishop sternly answered, that any Christian who shunned the open profession of his faith, had no chance of salvation: and, on this, the old man immediately took a resolution, which was also adopted by nearly half the members of his clan. Thirty Kurmúlidhes determined at once to go to the Pashá at the Kástron, to confess that they were Christians, and to endure the ignominious death which would immediately await them[13]. On their arrival in the city, out of respect for the Archbishop, they went to his residence, "the Metropolis," before presenting themselves at "the seraglio" of the Pashá. The Metropolitan, on learning their intention, naturally saw the question in a very different light from the Bishop at Jerusalem; and remonstrated with them, in strong and energetic terms, against their design. He easily shewed them, that it was not only their own martyrdom on which they had determined, but that of many others whom they would leave behind them. Every priest who had married one of those, who, while in reality Christian dogs, had still usurped the turban and enjoyed the rank of true believers, would be compromised; and, undoubtedly, his life would be required as an atonement for his crime. Many priests would thus inevitably be put to death: every bishop, too, who had at any time granted a licence for the celebration of such a marriage[14], would be involved in the same ruin. Moreover, the suspicion excited would doubtless point, not only to the real accessories, but to many who knew nothing of their secret faith; so that such a step as they thought of taking would inevitably cause much innocent Christian blood to flow. The

[13] RICAUT, writing a century and a half ago, says that conscience-struck renegades, "having communicated their anguish or desires to some bishop, or grave person of the clergy, and signifying withal their courage and zeal to die for that faith which they have denied—have owned their conversion;—for which, being condemned to die, they have suffered death with the same cheerfulness and courage that we read of the primitive martyrs." The present state of the Greek Church, p. 289. ed. 1679.

[14] This necessary episcopal licence is called τὸ θέλημα.

Archbishop likewise alluded to the use they had ever made of their power, to protect their Christian brethren; and ended by assuring them that he differed from the Bishop at Jerusalem, and believed they might go to heaven, though they lived and died in ostensible communion with the followers of Mohammed. His arguments and exhortations at length prevailed, and they consented to leave the city without divulging their secret to the Pashá.

One of the most remarkable members of the family was Khuseín-agá, whose personal exploits before the outbreaking of the Greek revolution would fill a volume, and who also distinguished himself as a leader in the early history of the war with the Turks, under his Christian name of Captain Mikháli Kurmúlis. He was the Greek Arkhegós of all the Kastriná[15], and died at Hýdhra in 1824. He was succeeded by his son, Rhiziván-agá, or Captain Dhemétrios, who was killed at Athens. His brother, Mustafá-agá, or Captain Manóles, subsequently fell at Mokhó in Crete. Of sixty-four men of the family, only two have survived the murderous war of the revolution.

In the year 1824, three Kurmúlidhes, two brothers, and one of their cousins, were executed, outside the walls of Rhíthymnos, by Mustafá-bey, the Turkish general. They had been made prisoners at Mélabes, along with their wives and children, all of whom experienced the usual lot of the war, and became slaves. The men were brought before the Bey, at his palace within the city: he offered them their lives on condition of their abandoning their religion. The proposal was instantly and indignantly rejected by the eldest of the prisoners[16]. On this they were conducted to the place of execution, near the Turkish cemetery

[15] Τὰ Καστρινά, that is the districts round the Κάστρο.

[16] It should never be forgotten that any Christian prisoner, instead of becoming a martyr, might, throughout the war, have saved his life by embracing Mohammedanism.

without the walls. When every thing was ready, the Bey again asked the eldest whether he would become a Mohammedan[17]: No! his faith was firm: he replied, "I was born a Christian, and a Christian I will die[18];" and, in an instant, his two companions saw his head severed from his body. The second, nothing shaken in his resolution by the sight, when asked to choose between the Crescent and the axe, answered that he would follow his brother: on this he also was beheaded. The cousin of these two sufferers was very young, and, though firm of purpose, was unable to make any answer, when the same proposal was repeated to him. He was seized by the attendants, and, the next moment, his body likewise was a headless bleeding trunk.

The Bishop of Rhíthymnos went near the spot that night, and also the two next evenings. Each time he saw a light[19] descend on the bodies of the two, who, with so holy and fervent a zeal, had earned the crown of martyrdom. The blood-stained clothes of all the three unfortunates were cut off, and distributed: a very small portion of any part of them, if burnt in a sick chamber, used to effect the invalid's immediate restoration to health.

I will now give the story of a Mohammedan chieftain's death, which happened near this city a few years earlier, in an action with the Christians under Captain Rússo and Papá-Anagnóstes. Glemédh-Alí was my hero's name, and he was one of the most celebrated native leaders whom the Cretan Mohammedans ever had in their sanguinary contest with the Christians of

[17] Τουρκεύεις ἢ ὄχι; Ὄχι, δὲν Τουρκεύω.

[18] Ἀντώνιος ἐγεννήθηκα, Ἀντώνιος θὰ ἀποθάνω. I might compare the conversation between Omér-Vriónis and Dhiákos: FAURIEL, Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne, Tom. II. p. 36.

"Γένεσαι Τοῦρκος Διάκο μου, τὴν πίστιν σου ν' ἀλλάξῃς;
νὰ προσκυνᾷς εἰς τὸ τζαμί, τὴν ἐκκλησιάν ν' ἀφήσῃς;
Κ' ἐκεῖνος τ' ἀπεκρίθηκε, καὶ μὲ θυμὸν τοῦ λέγει·
Ἐγὼ Γραικὸς γεννήθηκα, Γραικὸς θέλ' ἀπαιθάνω."

[19] Φωθιά.

the island. The beauty of Glemédhi's person, the tallness of his stature, the splendour of his arms, the loudness of his voice, and the swiftness of his feet, are all themes of praise even to my Sfakian companion[20].

In listening to the recital of this chieftain's exploits, I am constantly reminded of the different characteristics of several of Homer's heroes. Glemédhi's personal beauty, his swiftness of foot[21], and his incomparable valour, are all traits found in the well-known picture of Achilles; his loud and sonorous voice is spoken of so as to remind me of several of the Grecian warriors at Ilium, and even of the brazen-voiced and brazen-hearted Stentor himself: the exclamations addressed by the Cretan hero to the enemy, in the contests, which, for sometime before his death, used almost daily to take place between Christian and Mohammedan combatants, resemble, in no less striking and interesting a manner, the speeches exchanged between the contending warriors on the plain of Troy[22].

Glemédhi had five brothers, one alone of whom died a natural death, the others having all fallen by the sword in the bloody contest with the Christians.

[20] Maniás said: "Glemédhis might always be recognized, *ἦτον γνωριστὸς πάντοτες*, from his rich arms, and his commanding person: he was very swift of foot, *γρήγορος τὰ ποδάρια*, and never did an engagement take place in which he was not one of the foremost combatants: he had a loud shrill voice, *εἶχε σκληρὴν φωνή*."

[21] I hear this quality assigned to many of the Cretan heroes of the revolution, especially to the Mountaineers, who have always delighted in the chase. ATHENAEUS, XIV. 630. b. *Οἱ δὲ Κρῆτες κυνηγετικοί, διὸ καὶ ποδώκεις.*

[22] The following is one of these dialogues: it took place on the very day of Glemédhi's death, between him and Papá-Anagnóstes. When the Christians began to retreat from the Three Churches, *Τζὴ τρεῖς Ἐκκλησιαίς*, in the neighbourhood of Rhíthymnos, Glemédhi exclaimed: *Σταθῆτε· ποῦ φεύγετε κερατάδες; σταθῆτε νὰ σᾶς δείξω σήμερον πῶς πολεμοῦνι οἱ ἄνδρες.* The Christian Captain, in his reply, expressed a wish, which the result of the day verified: *Ὁ Καπιτάνιος Ἀναγνώστης τοῦ εἶπεν· "ἐπόρισες σήμερον, Αλῆ-ἀγά, ὅπως νὰ πολεμήσης· ὅμως ὀρπίζω στὸν θεὸν ὅπως νὰ μὴ γυρίσης, νὰ σε ἰδῇ πλέον ἡ μάνα σου—παρὰ νὰ εἶναι ἡ ὑστερινή σου ἡμέρα σήμερον.*

The following are parts of a popular song on the death of this distinguished leader. The Commandante, spoken of in its first stanza, is Affendúles, who was then residing at Lutró in Sfakiá.

ΤΟΥ ΓΛΗΜΗΔΙ ΤΟ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙ.

Ἄνθρωπος δὲν εὑρήθηκε
νὰ μάθῃ τὴν ἀλήθεια
ὁ Κουμαντάντης στὸ Λουτρὸ
ἂν ἔχει κρίνει δίκαια.

Μὰ ἕνα φιρμάν' ἔστειλε
στὴν μπάντα[23] τοῦ Ῥιθύμνου,
νὰ πιάσουν τὸν Γλημήδ' Ἀλῆ
τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ πολέμου.

* * *

Καὶ σύρνει τὸ μαχαίρι[24] τοῦ
κοντὰ τῶνι σιμόνει·
καὶ κινοῦνται ὅροι[25] ἀπάνω τοῦ
ὡσὰν τὸ χελιδόνι.

Εἷς Σφακιανὸς ἐχύθηκε
ὡσὰν τὸ περιστέρι
κἄκοψε τὸ κεφάλι τοῦ
μὲ τὸ δεξιὸ τοῦ χέρι.

[23] Μπάντα: in Hellen. μέρος, in Latin *pars*, in Ital. *banda*: Dante: Che venia verso noi dall' altra *banda*.

[24] Μαχαίρι: the weapon worn in the girdle, ζωνάρι, and seen in the engraving of Captain Maniás. Homer's μάχαιρα is now called μαχαιράκι.

[25] Ὅροι: a Sfakianism for ὅλοι.

Ἔκοψε τὸ κεφάλι τοῦ
τοῦ Ἀλῆ τοῦ Γλημηδάκι
καὶ βάστα τὸ στὴν χέρα τοῦ
ὡσὰν τὸ μπαϊράκι[26].

Μὰ τοῦ Γλημήδ' ἡ κεφαλή
ἡ πολὺ ἐπαινημένη
τοῦ Ῥούσσου[27] τὴν ἐπήγασαν
στὸ αἷμα κηλισμένη.

Βγάνει καὶ δύω βενετικά,
μπαχσήσι[28] τῶν τὰ δίδει,
διατὶ τὸν ἐσκοτώσασι[29]
αὐτόνι[30] τὸν Γλημήδι.

Διατὶ ἔκαψε[31] πολλαὶς καρδιαίς
καὶ ἀκόμη ἤθελε κάψει·
ἀποῦ[32] νὰ βγοῦ τὰ μάθια[33] τοῦ
ἀποῦ[34] θέλει τόνι κράψει[35].

[26] Μπαϊράκι: the Turkish بيراق, *baïrâk*.

[27] Rússos has been mentioned above: see p. 10.

[28] Μπαχσήσι: the Turkish بخشيش *bakhshesh*, which has generally usurped the place of the Greek δωρεά or χάρισμα.

[29] A common Cretan termination of the third person plural of the aorist.

[30] The final ι is here added, as above in τῶνι, v. 10.

[31] Ἔκαψε: that is ἔκαυσε. The word ἀκόμη, found in the next verse, is derived from ἀκμήν, which, however, is not used, in the sense of ἔτι, by the Attic writers: see LOBECK, on Phrynichus, p. 123. MATTHEW, xv. 16. Ἀκμὴν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀσύνετοί ἐστε; *Are ye also* yet *without understanding?* THEODOROS PTOKHOPRODROMUS, II. 66.

Ἐκεῖνος ἔχει στὴν Μονὴν κἂν δεκαπέντε χρόνους,
καὶ σὺ ἀκμὴν οὐκ ἐπλήρωσες ἐξάμηνον ἀφ' οὗ θες.

[32] Ἀποῦ: Cretism for ὁποῦ: it here means *wherefore*.

[33] Μάθια: for μάτια, from the Hellenic ὀμμάτιον.

[34] Ἀποῦ: for ὁ ὁποῖος.

[35] Κράψει: a Sfakianism for κλάψει, that is κλαύσει.

Γλημήδι, τὸ κεφάλι σου
ἀποῦ 'θελε νταϊαντίσει[36]
εἰς τὸ 'Ρίθυμνος καὶ 'στὰ Χανιά
νὰ βγῇ να πολεμήσῃ·

Γλημήδι τὸ κεφάλι σου,
ἀποῦ 'βανες[37] τὰ τζιτζέκια[38],
τώρα τὸ 'χουν οἱ Σφακιανοί
σημάδι 'στὰ τουφέκια[39].

Προμαζωχθῆτε[40] 'στὸ γιαμμί,
Τοῦρκοι καὶ Γιαννιτζάροι,
[41]νὰ ἰδῆτε τὸν Γλημήδ' 'Αλῆ
τὸ ὥμορφο παλλικάρι[42].

[36] Νταϊαντίσει: this word, which I had not before heard, was explained by Captain Maniás to mean βαστήξει. It is equivalent to the Hellenic τολμᾷν, or the Latin *posse*, as in Horace's *potuere* duro perdere ferro.

[37] Βανες: the ancient λ is frequently changed into ν, as in this word βάνω.

[38] Τζιτζέκια: from چچك, *izitzek*, a flower.

[39] This is a literal fact. Τουφέκι is from the Turkish word تفنك, *tufenk*, a musket.

[40] Corrupted from περιμαζώνω.

[41] It is hardly necessary to point out the irony of the concluding stanza.

[42] The word παλλικάρι is a diminutive derived from the ancient πάλλαξ. The following is the historical account of Glemédhi's death, as given to me by Captain Maniás. "A few days afterwards, μετὰ εἰς μερικαὶς ἡμέραις περασμέναις, the Christian force went to Arméno-kámpi, στοὺς Ἀρμένο-κάμπους, (a village of Rhíthymnos, about five miles distant from the city,) and there formed an ambuscade, ἐκάθισε μὲ χωσιά, while a few of them approached the fortress, and fought with the Mohammedans for some time, μερικὴ ὥρα, at Three Churches, τζὴ τρεῖς 'Εκκλησιαίς. As soon as they began to retreat, the enemy pursued them, and fell into the ambush. The simultaneous volley of the Greeks killed many, (τζὴ ἔκαμαν μίαν μπαττερία—καὶ ἐσκοτώσανι πορρούς,) and some were taken prisoners. It was then that their leader also fell: καὶ τότες ἐσκοτώθηκεν καὶ ὁ Σερασκιέρης τῶν ὁ Γλημήδ-Ἀλῆς. The Mohammedans, after retreating towards the city, maintained their ground throughout the rest of the day. Glemédhi was wounded by the volley which the Christians fired from their ambush, and fell soon afterwards. The Askyfióte who slew him received a reward, bakhshésh, from both Rússo and others, for his exploit. The whole number of Mohammedans who fell in the day's engagement was about three hundred."

In the following English version of this Cretan song, my object has been to render every line as literally as I could, and thus to preserve the characteristic simplicity of the original.

THE SONG OF GLEMEDHI.

No man has ever yet been found,
The truth to learn and tell,
Whether the Chieftain at Lutró
Did justly plan, and well.

'Twas to the province Rhíthymnos
A firman that he sent;
To seize upon Glemédh-Alí,
That warlike man, he meant.

* * *

Behold him, sword in hand, advance
In conflict close to fight:
At once they all upon him rush,
Swift as the swallow's flight.

An instant more, from scarce seen foe
A fatal blow was sped;
And, lo! a Sfakian's right arm
Struck off Glemédhi's head.

The Sfakian struck off the head
Of Glemedháki true,
And, like a standard, in his hand
He held it up to view.

Thy honour'd head, Glemédh-Alí,
Exulting next they bore,
To Rússo, their renowned Chief,
All stained as 'twas with gore.

And gold, at once, from his own purse,
On them the Chief bestowed,
Because by their successful fight
Glemédhi's blood had flowed.

For many hearts with grief he had racked,
And would have racked still more:
So may each man his eye-sight lose
Who shall his fate deplore!

Glemédhi! now thy head, that erst
Courageously would dare,
At Rhíthymnos and at Khaniá,
The brunt o' th' fray to bear;

Glemédhi! now thy head, that erst
With flowers thou didst deck,
Is by the Sfakians possessed,
A mark for each tufék!

Ye Turks and Janitsáries all
To th' mosque why don't ye fly?
To gaze upon Glemédh-Alí,
The pride of every eye!

February 21.

In the evening I rode to Peghé[43], a village where about 160 Greeks paid the poll-tax before the revolution: the present number of inhabited houses does not exceed forty. The Proestós, Spyrídhon[44] Papadhákes, a very hospitable and even intelligent old man, received us most kindly: in a short time his wife and servant produced an excellent supper, and his wine was the best I had tasted in the island. On my praising it, and enquiring if it was abundant, he replied, that he had not much of it, and therefore never drank it except when a stranger came to see him[45]. In what country of Europe should we find either a peasant or a gentleman keeping his choicest wine untouched that he might share it with the wandering stranger?

On another occasion I heard the words of a Cretan song, which my kind and hospitable reception in this village calls to my mind:

[43] Εἰς τὴν Πηγή. This name is derived from a copious source, which supplies the village with excellent water. The same origin of the name Pagasae is assigned by STRABO, IX. p. 436. Ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν, αἳ πολλαί τε καὶ δαψιλεῖς ῥέουσι. Πηγαί, or Παγαί in its doric form, (TZSCHUCKE, on Strabo, Tom. III. p. 446.) was also the name of a place in Megaris, where there was a bronze statue of Artemis Soteira: PAUSANIAS, I. p. 107. SKINNER, in his Etymologicon Onomasticon, assigns the same meaning to the name of *Susa*; which, however, is said to be derived from the beauty of the place, (the word meaning a lily in Arabic, and, I suppose, also in Persian): see ATHENAEUS, XII. p. 513. f. In England wells have given a designation to an episcopal city, and the more illustrious name of a smaller place is Wellen-town, or Wellington.

[44] Spyrídhon, Σπυρίδων, is the name of the celebrated Saint of Korfú, to whose holy *body* our soldiers present arms on certain great festivals: he was a native of Cyprus: see SUIDAS, in Ἀχαϊκὸν and Σπυρίδων, and the authors mentioned by MEURSIUS, Cyprus, I. c. XXVI. The Saint was supposed to work miracles in his life time; as, according to the accounts of the Korfiótes, he still does, in a most wonderful manner, at the present day. The Patriarch PHOTIUS (Cod. 256. p. 471. Bekk.) tells a story of a dead woman, who spoke from her tomb, when interrogated by the Saint: and adds that by the narration of this miracle he shews the Lion to us, as it were by the exhibition of his claws: (τούτοις μὲν ὡς ἐξ ὀνύχων δηλοῦμεν τὸν λέοντα.)

[45] This his choicest wine was obtained from the monastery of Arkádhi, on Mount Ida (Psylorítes).

Χίλια "καλῶς ἐκοπίασες"
τοῦ ξένου στὸ χωριό μας·
κ' ἡμεῖς τὸν καμαρώνομεν
σανὰ τὸν ἰδικό μας.

A thousand welcomes strangers greet,
Whene'er they here arrive:
And unto them, as to our own,
Kindness to shew we strive.

Certainly it is far more satisfactory to any traveller to meet with such individual hospitality as this, than it would be to have a lodging and dinner provided by the city; as used to be done in ancient Crete[46].

I had great reason to rejoice at obtaining so Christian-like a reception in Peghé, a place inhabited, if its name and the words of an ancient grammarian are to be trusted, by descendants of the most genuine of all Pagans[47].

On one side of the village are about 1000 olive-trees, which were the property of the Sultána. The Kislár-agá used to name the Agá of this village, and he was always removed, at the end of two years, if the inhabitants did not like him. They once kept the same Agá, a Mohammedan of the village, thirty-three years. The biennial revenue, obtained by the Sultána from this and three other villages[48], had reached 36,000 piastres at the

[46] DOSIADAS, Cretica, IV. in ATHENAEUS, IV. p. 143. a. Εἰσὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην οἶκοι δύο ταῖς συσσιτίαις, ὧν τὸν μὲν καλοῦσιν ἀνδρεῖον, τὸν δ' ἄλλον, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ξένους κοιμίζουσι, κοιμητήριον προσαγορεύουσι. κατὰ δὲ τὸν συσσιτικὸν οἶκον πρῶτον μὲν κεῖνται δύο τράπεζαι, ξενικαὶ καλούμεναι, αἷς προσκαθίζουσι τῶν ξένων οἱ παρόντες· ἐξῆς δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἄλλων. CHISHULL, Antiq. Asiat. p. 134. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ὁδῷ τὰς ξενικὰς θοίνας: see HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 452.

[47] SERVIUS, on Virg. Georg. II. 382. Per villas, quae pagi ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν appellantur, id est a fontibus, circa quos villae consueverant condi: unde et *Pagani* dicti sunt, quasi ex uno fonte potantes.

[48] Those of Anoía and Hághios Ioánnes in Mylopótamo, and Vasamónero in Messará.

outbreaking of the Greek revolution. Some years before it had been as low as 15,000, and gradually increased, as the value of the piastre diminished by the deterioration of the Turkish currency, till it reached the abovementioned sum. The villagers[49] in each of these places used to cultivate all the Sultána's lands, and had half the produce as their own share. They enjoyed so many privileges and immunities, that their condition could not be compared with that of any other rayas. They never cut wood: they paid no arbitary fines[50]: they performed no labour for the Turkish authorities without receiving hire[51]. If at any time any of these things were de-

[49] Οἱ χωριανοί. [50] Ντζερέμια.

[51] Ἀγγαρείαις. SUIDAS, Ἀγγαρεία: καὶ Ἄγγαρος, Ἐργάτης, ὑπηρέτης, ἀχθοφόρος. Ὅθεν ἀγγαρείαν, ἀνάγκην ἀκούσιον λέγομεν, καὶ ἐκ βίας γινομένην ὑπηρεσίαν. On the Persian word ἄγγαρος, and its Hellenic derivatives, consult H. STEPHANUS, Thesaurus, p. CCCLXXIX. fol. ed. Lond. There is an oration of LIBANIUS, περὶ τῶν ἀγγαρειῶν, Vol. II. pp. 549—569. ed. Reisk. The treatment of the peasants, by the magistrates of Antioch, in his day, resembles that which the rayas were afterwards to experience from the local authorities in the worst governed parts of the Turkish empire. It is also a faint sketch of what the Cretan peasant suffered, at the hands of his Venetian task-master, during several centuries. FOSCARINI, after enumerating many of these *angarie*, adds, fol. 108. "Sono di più i contadini obbligati et aggravati di tante altre angarie chè cosa incredibile." Thus they were "in tante maniere tiranneggiati," that, before the end of each year, all the produce of their labour fell into the hands of the Cavalieri. After the Turkish conquest, every peasant, who embraced Islamism, was freed from all these oppressions: and the temporal condition, even of those who remained Christians, was undoubtedly bettered by the change of masters. It would be easy to prove this by copious extracts from the existing records of Venetian misgovernment and oppression. Among other great advantages derived by the Greek subjects of Venice, from their transfer to Moslem sway, was the religious toleration, which the unbelieving Christian obtained in a higher degree than had ever been experienced by the schismatical Greek. A French traveller, in 1710, found the Greek population of Modon, then in the possession of the Most Serene Republic, anxious to be restored to the tolerant and comparatively easy government of the Turks: see LA MOTRAYE, Voyages, Vol. I. c. XXI. p. 462. ed. La Haye, 1727. They "faisoient des voeux pour retourner sous la domination des Turcs, et témoignoient *envier le sort des Grecs qui y vivoient encore.*" Nevertheless *individual* Musulmans soon began to oppress the Christians, and the raya of the Turk was ere long reduced to a position little better than that of the subject of the Venetians. Both were, nearly equally, in the condition of the English peasant, of whom

BRACTON

manded of them they used to send a deputation, consisting of three or four of their principal inhabitants, to the city, with the Sultán's Hatí-sheríf, and the Sultána's Kharém-ighí, the two valuable documents which secured to them the possession of their privileges. In return for all these prerogatives, the consequence of there being some of the Sultána's property situated in the villages, their only obligation was to keep in repair the aqueduct of one of her mosques. Perhaps the most valuable of their rights consisted in their personal freedom and security, when within their own village, where no Turk ever dared to intrude and molest them. When travelling in any other part of the island they feared the Turks, but in their own village never[52]. These villages are like oases in the desert, and present the only bright spots in the gloomy and horrid prospect of injustice and oppression, seen in contemplating the social state of all the Cretan Christians, with the exception of the Sfakian mountaineers, under the old Turkish rule, or rather under the unchecked licentiousness of the Mohammedan population.

It being Friday none of the Greeks tasted the cheese, eggs or milk, which, with some excellent caviáre and olives, formed our evening's meal.

Spyrídhon recounts, to the great annoyance of Captain Maniás, tales of some of the robberies and excesses committed by the Sfakians during the revolution. When the arms of Khuseín-bey were so successful, in 1824, that he was on the point of effecting the general pacification of the island, Spyrídhon retired, as did many other Christians, to the inaccessible fastnesses of Haghía Ruméli and Samaría for safety. While he was there, the submission of every district took place, and

BRACTON says: "he that holdeth in pure villenage, *shall do whatever is commanded him*, and always be bound to an uncertain service."

[52] Elsewhere *ἐφοβούμεσθα τζὴ Τούρκους*, but here *ποτέ*. I asked him if he did not think it was then a sort of *ἐλευθερία*, and he replied *κοντὰ ἤτουι*.

on this he determined, like every body else, to return to his home. Being unwell, and having his wife with him, he thought it worth while to purchase a mule for the journey. Thus the Sfakians saw that he had money. On his arrival at Lutró they seized him, and, after tying his hands behind him, held a pistol at each temple, and five or six at his breast. They thus forced him to disclose where his money was, and obtained from him about 1200 piastres, taking also his mule and some of his clothes. Maniás in vain attempted to edge in a word in favour of his fellow Sfakians. All that can be said in their defence is, that they spent their plunder in the struggle, and, like the Hydhraeans, are poorer, to a man, at the present day, than they were at the outbreaking of the revolution. Old Spyrídhon compares the events of the war to a torrent which carries every thing before it; and says that, in consequence of the excesses committed by the Sfakians, he determined, when the last insurrection under Khadjí Mikháli took place, to go into the fortified city, and that many other Christians did the same thing, not only in the neighbourhood of Rhíthymnos, but also near Megálo-Kástron and Khaniá.

When Khadjí-Mikháli was at Fránko-Kástello, my host went to see him on the Monday. The Khadjí fell on the Wednesday of the same week. Spyrídhon attempted to undeceive him with respect to the amount of the Mohammedan force from the Kástron, (already with the Pashá,) which the Rumeliot Chieftain believed to be a body of only a few hundred men: the endeavour to convince him of their real amount was vain: he was bent on fighting, and seemed even to anticipate victory.

After the death of Khadjí-Mikháli the Turks of Rhíthymnos used to make frequent nocturnal expeditions into villages, sometimes at a considerable distance from the city; and, falling on the people by surprise, often succeeded in massacring the men who made any resistance, and in enslaving women and children. Be-

sides a woman-servant, there is in my host's house another female, who seems to be as much his wife's friend as her attendant, and a little child, both of whom were procured by him under the following circumstances.

About twenty days after the Christmas following the death of Khadjí-Mikháli, a numerous party of armed Turks left the town of Rhíthymnos some time before midnight on a Saturday evening. Now at all periods of the war the Greeks were constant in the performance of their religious exercises: they went to church armed; and, if they were to be suddenly attacked, where could they hope better to defend themselves, against the unbaptized Mohammedans, than at God's altar? At the village of Labiní, in the eparkhía of Hághio Vasíli, there was assembled in the church, on the morning after this party left Rhíthymnos, a small congregation of eight Christians, six of whom had also their wives with them. This village is eighteen miles from Rhíthymnos, and the Mohammedans knew well that they should find the Christians assembled at their prayers in its church about day break on the morning of the Lord's day.

Immediately on their arrival they attacked their destined victims, and attempted to force their way into the church: two or three of them paid the price of their temerity, but the others kept up, for about three hours, through the windows and openings of the building, an inefficient fire on the Christians within. At length they adopted a more certain mode of warfare, and heaping up, near the entrance, dry wood and other combustibles, on which oil was poured, they applied a torch to the materials thus collected. The door was soon consumed, and the Christians had no means of escaping from the flames. Resistance and flight being both equally impossible, and their condition in the church becoming insupportable, the men at length surrendered, and were all massacred. One of the women had fainted, half suffocated by the smoke, and doubtless suffering still more from her apprehension of the destiny

which awaited both her husband and herself. On recovering from her swoon, she found herself tightly corded on the back of a mule, and already advanced about half way towards Rhíthymnos: her hair, her skull-cap, and her clothes were all stiff with the gore of her murdered husband. The savage who had made her his slave did not succeed in selling her for fifteen days, during all which time she continued to wear the clothes which had been thus soaked and dyed in her husband's blood. She was redeemed by my host, who was then living at Rhíthymnos: and he also purchased the little child from its Turkish owner. The child, if I rightly remember, is the woman's daughter, and the price it cost him was eighty Turkish piastres[53].

February 22.

In this neighbourhood the mean produce of an olive-tree is five okes of oil; a very good tree will produce two místata; but for 100 místata 150 roots, if not 200, would be necessary. My host's annual consumption of oil in his family is about forty místata. As a mean he thinks the annual consumption in every Cretan family must be about twenty místata, where they have olives: if they have to purchase their oil, they may perhaps make fifteen místata do. "All Crete is used to oil[54]," says he, "more than other places, and even if it cost five piastres the oke, a Cretan would not think it dear."

Our host gives us an excellent breakfast, and, after it, coffee: on my taking leave of him, he replies to my professions of inability adequately to thank him for his kindness, by saying, "I will tell you how to thank me: visit my house again when you next come this way."

An hour after leaving Peghé, we pass through the village of Bagalokhóri; and, soon after, see on our right the ruins of Khamalévri, another village which,

[53] *Ογδοῆντα γρούσσια—τρεῖς ὀκάδες.*

[54] *Εἶναι μαθημένη στὸ λάδι.*

like Bagalokhóri, now contains a population of only ten Christian and five Mohammedan families. A mile farther on is the monastery of Arsáni, which is small and poor. Pococke speaks of this as "the rich convent of Arsani," and praises the quality of the wines and oil produced on its estates[55]. It now possesses only about 1800 olive-trees, and owes a debt of 15,000 piastres, for which it pays fifteen per cent. The present coenobites are an Hegúmenos, a patéras, a kalógheros, and a dhiákos. Their possessions were still considerable a little while before the revolution, but they were obliged to sell the greater part of them to pay off their debts. The church is dedicated to Hághios Gheórghios, and the monastery contains an elementary school, which is conducted on the old system (and not on the plan of mutual instruction,) and is frequented by only a few children.

Soon after leaving this monastery we meet an itinerant monk, who had, what I, at first, took for a bible, in his hand. It turns out to be a little case of reliques of several distinguished saints: amongst them were Hághios Gheórghios, Hághios Dionýsios the Areopagite, Hághios Panteleémon, the Saint and Martyr Démos of Smyrna, Hághios Ioánnes Eremítes, and others. The monk belongs to the monastery of Hághios Antónios, called Pezanés, near the plain of Messará. The Revolution has destroyed most of their olive-trees, and his journey is intended, by the aid of God, and through the means of these holy reliques, to obtain eleemosynary contributions in aid of their impoverished convent[56].

I need hardly say that my Greek attendants devoutly kissed the sacred contents of the case. Each of us gave his mite towards restoring the monks to the enjoyment of the comforts of the good old times.

[55] POCOCKE, Vol. II. Part I. p. 260.

[56] The Greek monks go to great distances from their monasteries on these begging tours: those of St Athanasius on Mount Siniatzikó, to the North-west of Olympus, are sometimes thus carried "as far as Germany:" LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. I. p. 319. See also Vol. III. p. 129.

Ante Deûm matrem cornu tibicen adunco
Quum canit, exiguae quis stipis aera neget?
Scimus ab imperio fieri nil tale Dianae,
Unde tamen vivat vaticinator habet!

The profession of this hawker of reliques was once followed in old England. Our pardoner, in his profitable peregrinations, used to carry about with him, not only indulgences, but bones and teeth and other holy things, the privilege of kissing which was purchased by the devout.

And here be relykes of such a kynde,
As in this worlde no man can fynde.
Knele down all thre, and when ye leve kyssynge,
Who lyst to offer, shall have my blyssynge.
Frendes, here shall ye se evyn anone,
Of All-hallowes the blessyd jaw-bone,
Kisse it hardely with good devocion[57].

Chaucer's Pardonere is described as carrying many such sacred reliques, aided by which,

Upon a day he gat him more moneie
Than that the persone gat in monthes tweie.
And thus with fained flattering and japes,
He made the persone, and the peple, his apes.

Doubtless the success of the mendicant Greek priest's peregrinations, is proportionate to the supposed sanctity

[57] HEYWOOD, the four P's, published in Vol. I. of Dodsley's Collection of Old Plays. This author, one of the most ancient dramatic writers in our language, and himself "steadily attached to the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion," sufficiently expresses his opinion of these pious frauds, by the language which he puts into the mouth of his Pardoner.

Nay Syrs, beholde, here may ye se
The great toe of the Trinitye,
Who to thys toe any money voweth,
And ones may role it in his moueth,
All hys lyfe after, I undertake,
He shall never be vext with the tooth ake.

These false and impious reliques are well described by the words of EUSEBIUS, Life of Constantine, III. c. 57. when speaking of the practices of a more ancient superstition: Ἡ γὰρ νεκρῶν σωμάτων ὑπῆν ὀστέα, ξηρά τε κρανία, γοήτων περιεργίαις ἐσκευωρημένα, ἢ ῥυπῶντα ῥάκη, βδελυρίας αἰσχρᾶς ἔμπλεα.

of the bones and pictures which he carries about with him. Among the ancients similar sacerdotal arts prevailed[58], and a Christian writer asserts that those were the most holy of the Gods, in whose names the greatest contributions could be obtained by their begging priests[59].

The destruction of any religious edifice gave a peculiar force to such claims, and we find that the Delphians obtained assistance, not only from every part of Greece, but also from Egypt, towards rebuilding their temple, when it had been destroyed by fire[60]. About the same time, the Scythian Abaris collected a large sum, in his mendicant tour: and returned with it to the temple of the Hyperborean Apollo, in whose name it had been obtained[61].

These itinerant and begging priests of Paganism seem to be the spiritual predecessors both of the Pardoners, and of the Franciscans: many passages, in which they are mentioned by ancient authors, have been collected by the learning and acuteness of Perizonius, Gronovius, Ruhnken, and Lobeck[62]. Our Middleton was reminded of the Pagan usage, when he observed the practice of the mendicant friars in modern Italy[63].

This morning we see the mouth of a cavern, but the water is too high to allow of our entering it. Maniás

[58] Scilicet in variis artibus, quibus sacrificuli simplicis plebeculae pecunias ad se derivarent, non postrema haec erat. Dei Deaeve alicujus effigiem vel humeris portantes, vel jumento imponentes, per oppida et vicos vagabantur, et verbo Diis, re ipsa sibi, stipem quaerebant." RUHNKEN, on Timaeus, v. *ἀγείρουσαι*.

[59] TERTULLIAN, Apologet. p. 43. ed. Par. 1666. Dii vero qui magis tributarii magis sancti; imo qui magis sancti magis tributarii; majestas quaestuaria efficitur. Again, p. 73. Non sufficimus et hominibus et Diis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre.

[60] HERODOTUS, II. 180.

[61] IAMBLICHUS, V. P. XIX. p. 91. (p. 196. ed. Kiessling.)

[62] PERIZONIUS, on Aelian, V. H. IX. 8. GRONOVIUS, Observationes, IV. 7. p. 590. (p. 391. ed. Lips. 1831.) WESSELING, on Herodotus, IV. 35. RUHNKEN, on Timaeus, p. 10. LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 314. and p. 1092.

[63] MIDDLETON, Letter from Rome, p. 219.

assures me that a man can walk for *two hours* in it. I should have been glad to see how many hundred feet long it is: the exaggeration of the Greeks on all such topics is very great. About six miles from Arsáni we reach the top of a ridge from which we see spread out before us, to the east, the fertile plain of Mylopótamo. It is almost covered with olive-trees, which half conceal from view the villages scattered over it: five or six however are just visible; and others can be partially discerned peeping from behind the trees. A numerous drove of mules and asses, laden with oil for Rhíthymnos, here passes us. The summit of the conical mountain of Melidhóni, right before us beyond the plain, is covered with snow; a phenomenon which is always regarded by the peasants as an unerring indication that the approaching season will be very productive.

After passing the ruined village of Pérama, we repose for an hour, during the heat, which is considerable to-day, under the shade of a carob-tree, near a broken bridge, over which people used to cross the river. Perhaps there may be some difficulty in fording this stream immediately after heavy rain, since it flows from the northern ridges of Mount Ida, and must, doubtless, on such an occasion, be greatly swollen. Still the nature of its bed here probably gave the name "Pérama[64]" or Ford to the spot, long before the wretched modern village was built.

Crete has been so little explored that it was necessary to enquire everywhere for ancient remains. I therefore sought after them at this ford, but I was neither disappointed nor surprised at finding none in the neighbourhood. I should never have thought of looking for *Pergamos* at *Pérama*, since the obvious meaning of the latter word prevented any probability of its being a corruption of an ancient name. A living topogra-

[64] A word which we find, as might be expected, in many names of places in our own country. Our Bradford, or broad-ford, corresponds to the Πλατυ-Πέραμα which we elsewhere find in Crete.

pher[65] has, however, recorded a conjecture that Pergamos is perhaps Pérama, although, at the same time, he quotes Servius, who says that Pergamus was near Cydonia; that is at a distance of about two days' journey from *this* part of the island. On comparing what is said by Scylax with the passage of Servius, it is clear that the city need only be looked for to the *west* of Khaniá.

On moving from our resting place, we turned immediately to the left of the regular road between Rhíthymnos and Megálo-Kástron, and, after a short but steep ascent, came on an uncultivated and barren tract, which ends, in about half an hour, in the olive-trees by which the village of Melidhóni is surrounded. I took up my quarters at the house of the Proestós, who was absent, but was immediately sent for and soon arrived.

My first enquiry was for the cavern, in the neighbourhood of the village, at the entrance to which an inscription, published by Gruter[66] and Muratori[67], and in which the Tallaean Hermes is mentioned, ought to be seen. The difficulties encountered by Tournefort, in his endeavour to see the process of collecting *ladanum*, and to visit the inscription in question[68], of which he heard when at Melidhóni, if compared with the facilities afforded me for every investigation, show how different is the state of the country, under the simple despotism of Mehmét-Alí, from that in which the French naturalist found it.

Half an hour's ascent from the village brought me to the entrance of the cavern; but before I attempt to describe the beautiful stalactites, which make it a worthy rival even of the grotto of Antíparos, I will briefly

[65] Dr CRAMER, Description of ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 382.

[66] GRUTER, p. MLXVIII. 1.

[67] MURATORI, Tom. I. p. LI. 2. See also BOECKH, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, Vol. II. p. 423.

[68] It was seen by Mr SIEBER, Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Tom. I. p. 191. fin. *Die Inschriften sind gut erhalten—einige Zeilen sind schon durch Stalaktiten ueberdeckt.*

relate its modern history, as I learnt it during my stay in the village of Melidhóni; and doubt not that it will excite my reader's interest and sympathy.

Near the end of August 1822, Khassán-pashá, the uncle of Mustafá-Pashá, the present Seraskier of Crete, passed with his troops through Melidhóni, when on his way from Khaniá to Megálo-Kástron. The unarmed Christians fled before him every where as he approached, and this cavern offered what seemed a secure place of refuge, most of all to such as, from the weakness of age or sex, were unable to retire to the lofty mountains, and there to remain till the storm should have passed over their homes. On this account many of the inhabitants of Melidhóni, especially women and children, as well as people from neighbouring villages, took refuge in the cave, and remained there several days. They found in it plenty of water, and, since a few tuféks sufficed to guard its entrance against any number of troops, they had but little fear of being attacked. The Pashá passed without molesting them, and at length they emerged from their lurking place, and returned in safety to their villages.

Soon after the death of Khassán-pashá, Khuseín-bey, and Mustafá-bey the present Pashá, came to Melidhóni with their troops. The people fled before them, as they had done before Khassán-pashá, on the previous occasion, and now took with them all their cattle, and as much of their transportable property as they could remove, knowing full well that they should inevitably lose all that they might leave behind them. They felt no fear whatever, for they were returning to an impregnable fortress, and had provisions enough to enable them to stand a siege of half a year. The number of those who retired to the grotto on this occasion was upwards of 300 souls.

According to an ancient tradition the caverns of Crete were used in a similar manner in very early times, and Cresphygeton, the Cretan's refuge, became the ge-

neral name of grottos thus supposed to be places of security from danger[69].

Khuseín-bey in vain summoned the Christian fugitives to come out of their lurking-place: his messenger was fired on, and fell. He then attempted to force the entrance of the cave: and, in doing so, lost twenty-four of his brave Arnauts, who were killed by shots from the Christians within. On this the Bey sent a Greek woman into the cavern, with a message, that "if they would all come forth and give up their arms, they should not meet with any ill-treatment." The woman was shot, and her body cast out from the mouth of the grotto. When the Mohammedan general saw this, he himself took up a stone, and threw it into the cavern's entrance. His troops imitated the example he set them, and thus the only aperture through which light and air could pass to the Christians was entirely filled up. The following morning the Mohammedans saw that a small opening had been produced in their work, during the night. They again filled it up, and their labour was again undone by the Christians the following night. This attempt of the Turks to close the entrance of the cave was repeated twice more. At length they saw that the Christians could still breathe and live: they therefore collected wood, oil, chaff, spirit, sulphur, refuse olives, and all other combustibles on which they could lay their hands: they filled up the mouth of the cavern with these materials, instead of the stones and earth which they had before used; and had no sooner completed their work, than they set it on fire. Volumes of smoke immediately rolled along under the spacious vault of the entrance cavern, in which many of the ill-starred Christians were assembled: the dense vapour filled the whole apartment so rapidly that many had not time to

[69] See HESYCHIUS and SUIDAS, in the word. PHOTIUS, Lex. p. 178. ed. Pors. *Κρησφύγετα· τὰ πρὸς τοὺς χειμῶνας στεγνὰ καὶ ὀχυρώματα· οἱ δὲ φασὶν ὅτι Κρῆτες—ἔφυγον εἰς σπήλαια τινά· ὅθεν ἐκεῖνα ὠνομάσθησαν κρησφύγετα.*

escape through devious passages to the inner recesses of the cave. The husband and wife, the parent and child, could only take one last embrace and die. The smoke now forced its way from the entrance apartment into that of which a sketch is given[70]. Here many more fell, but the greater number had still time to escape, through narrow passages, in some of which they must have crept on their hands and knees, into little side chambers, and to the more distant recesses of the cavern. Doubtless, they hoped thus to escape the fate which had overtaken their less active companions. Alas! the passages through which they rushed, suffered the destroying vapour to follow them; and thus, at last, the groups of fugitives who had taken refuge in the inmost depths of the cave, died as their companions had done; and, in a few minutes after their funeral pile was first lighted, all these unhappy Christians had perished. By submission they might, undoubtedly, have avoided this fate, but they were all convinced, that if they once surrendered to their angry and ferocious foes, the men among them would be massacred, and the women and children reduced to slavery; so that one wonders not that they should have refused to listen to the offers which were made them.

The Turks, and the Cretan Mohammedans, distrustful of the effect of their diabolical contrivance, waited patiently outside the cavern for eighteen days. They had with them a Greek prisoner: I might call him a slave, for all those who were made prisoners were considered as such, and used commonly to be sold in the markets of the chief cities. They offered this Christian slave his life, as the reward of his consenting to go down into the cavern to see what his correligionaries were about. He gladly accepted their proposal, and, after venturing, with much fear and anxiety, into the grotto, found in it only the silence of the grave, and soon returned,

[70] The sketch was taken immediately after entering this second great apartment.

saying that "they were all dead"[71]. The Mohammedans, still distrustful of the effect produced by their fire, and fearful of being entrapped if they entered the cavern, sent the man back again, telling him to bring up some arms as a proof of the truth of his account. He did so, and three days afterwards the Mohammedans themselves ventured into the cavern, and stripped the victims of their ferocity of every thing of value which was on their persons, at the same time appropriating to themselves all the stores and other property which they found.

Soon after this, and while the head quarters of the Beys were still at Melidhóni, six Christians, who had all of them both relations and friends within the cavern, impelled by a natural desire to ascertain the truth of the report of their death, went up to see with their own eyes what had happened. Three of them remained outside, to give notice if any Mohammedans should approach, and the other three entered. One of them was called Manúlios Kermezákes[72]: the other two were Melidhónians, whose wives and children had taken refuge in the cavern. Who could describe the anguish of these unhappy men, when they saw lying dead on the ground, and despoiled even of their clothes, those whose safety they had vainly imagined to have been secured when they were once within the grotto? The simple narra-

[71] Εἶναι ὅλοι ἀπεθαμένοι μέσα, ἀφέντη. On the ancient αὐθέντης (*afthendi*, according to modern Greek pronunciation), from which this word ἀφέντη is derived, and which has been softened by the Turks into Effendi, consult LOBECK, on Phrynichus, p. 120. Many of the Greeks of King Otho's dominions, fancying that ἀφέντη is a Turkish word, studiously avoid using it, now that each of them is become an "ἐλεύθερος Ἕλληνας." Κύριε supplies its place, at all events in the vocabulary of the principal towns.

[72] The name Kermezákes is derived from the Turkish word قرمزي *kermezé*, red, and may therefore be compared with our English names, Reddy, Redman, and Scarlet. Blunt too means *blond*, according to SKINNER, in his Etymologicon Onomasticon. We have also derivatives of Yellow as proper names, and the old synonym of the word itself in Blake. White, Brown, Black, and Green, though very common with us, are, I think, as little known in Greece as Blue and Purple are in England. They probably all occur in *compounded* proper names among the Greeks, as in Mavromáti, Blackeye, and Mavroghéni, Blackbeard.

tion of the effect produced on them by this visit, will best declare how heart-rending their grief must have been. One of them never again raised up his head, but pined and wasted, and died only *nine days* after the fatal confirmation, by the evidence of his senses, of his worst fears. The other lived twenty days, and then he too died.

Manúlios, their companion, is still living, and tells me, being at the same time surrounded by a numerous group of his fellow-villagers, of this their visit. Every one confirms his account in all its details, except that one or two of the men maintain that the second death took place eighteen and not twenty days after the visit. I am fully satisfied that I have learnt the simple unadorned truth with respect to all these dreadful events.

When the Greeks were again masters of the village of Melidhóni, and of the district of Mylopótamo, they considered whether they should cause all the dead bodies in the cave to be interred in the usual way; and they thought that no nobler sepulchre could be built for them than that of which they had obtained possession. On this account they only caused the burial service to be read over them where they lay.

The ill fate of these fugitives, as well as the name of the Tallaean Hermes, equally carry us back to Talos, and the probable sacrifice of human victims in fire, with which the rites of the ancient religion of the island were celebrated.

Mount Tallaeos, or Talaeos, as the word is written in Hesychius[73], may certainly well have been a supposed station of Talos, the mythical man of brass, and guardian of the island. According to Apollonius Rhodius[74], when the Argonauts approached Crete,

[73] HESYCHIUS: Ταλαῖος· ὁ Ζεύς, ἐν Κρήτῃ.

[74] APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, IV. 1638.

Τοὺς δὲ Τάλως χάλκειος, ἀπὸ στιβαροῦ σκοπέλοιο
ῥηγνύμενος πέτρας, εἶργε χθονὶ πείσματ' ἀνάψαι,
Δικταίην ὅρμοιο κατερχομένους ἐπιωγήν.

Talos, the man of brass, was seen upon a peak to stand;
And thence he rocky fragments cast, nor suffer'd them to land.

The old legends related of this celebrated person, that he had been presented to Minos or Europa, by Zeus or Hephaestos[75]; and that he went the circuit of the island thrice annually[76], or even thrice every day[77]. According to Simonides and Sophocles, he consumed with fire all who approached him, and the sufferings of his victims are said to have given rise to the phrase "a sardonic smile[78]."

The traditions respecting Talos would alone lead us to suppose that Crete once possessed, as its chief Deity,

> A Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood
> Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears:

and the positive testimonies of ancient authors to the Cretan custom of slaying human victims, in honour of

[75] See the numerous passages of ancient authors, on this legend, collected by MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 252. VALCKENAER, Diatrib. in Eurip. p. 133. and HEYNE, on Apollodorus, pp. 220—225. DOSIADAS, in his second Altar, speaks of this brazen-limbed guardian's destruction by Medea, and of his previous construction by Hephaestos, in the verses:

> Ἄμος ἔψανδρα
> τὸν γυιόχαλκον οὖρον ἔρραισεν,
> ὃν ἀπάτωρ δίσευνος
> μόρησε μητρόρριπτος.

[76] PSEUDO-PLATO, in Min. Tom. II. p. 320. (who seems to be writing a chapter of contemporary history:) Νομοφύλακι αὐτῷ (Ῥαδαμάνθυι) ἐχρῆτο ὁ Μίνως κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Κρήτην τῷ Τάλῳ. ὁ γὰρ Τάλως τρὶς περιῄει τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κατὰ τὰς κώμας—ἐν χαλκοῖς γραμματείοις ἔχων γεγραμμένους τοὺς νόμους, ὅθεν χαλκοῦς ἐκλήθη! This seems to allude, as Professor Hoeck observes, to the three Seasons into which the year was divided: they are mentioned in ARISTOPHANES, Birds, 709. In more ancient times two Seasons were alone recognized: see WINCKELMANN, Monumenti Antichi inediti, Parte Prima, Cap. XIX.

[77] APOLLODORUS, Biblioth. I. 9. 26. Οὗτος ὁ Τάλως τρὶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τὴν νῆσον περιτροχάζων ἐτήρει.

[78] SCHOLIAST on PLATO, p. 396. Σαρδάνιος γέλως—Σιμωνίδης δὲ ἀπὸ Τάλω τοῦ χαλκοῦ, ὃν Ἥφαιστος ἐδημιούργησε Μίνῳ, φύλακα τῆς Κρήτης ποιήσασθαι, ἔμψυχον ὄντα, τοὺς πελάζοντάς φησι κατακαίοντα ἀναιρεῖν· ὅθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναι διὰ τὴν φλόγα, τὸν σαρδάνιόν φησι λεχθῆναι γέλωτα. ὁμοίως καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Δαιδάλῳ. Compare SUIDAS, under Σαρδάνιος γέλως, ZENOBIUS, v. 85.

both Kronos[79] and Zeus[80], are but too plain a record of the same facts of which traces are found in the legends of both Talos and the Minotaur[81].

Probably the brazen statue of Talos never had so many human beings presented to it, in one offering, as were consumed by the fire of the Mohammedans on this recent occasion. Yet, in ancient times, human victims were slaughtered or burnt, on various occasions, by the priests of Rome[82]; and 500 youths, 200 of them chosen from the noblest families, were once consigned to religious flames in Carthage[83].

In almost every part of the ancient world, a similar mode of propitiating the Deity appears to have prevailed. In India[84] and in Italy[85], in Egypt[86] and in Palestine[87], as well as in various parts of Greece, are

[79] PORPHYRY, on abstinence, II. 56. p. 202. Ἴστρος ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν Κρητικῶν θυσιῶν, φησὶ τοὺς Κουρῆτας τὸ παλαιὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ θύειν παῖδας.

[80] CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 36. ed. Pott. Λυκτίους—Κρητῶν δὲ ἔθνος εἰσὶν οὗτοι (Pott. οὕτως) Ἀντικλείδης ἐν Νόστοις ἀποφαίνεται ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάττειν τῷ Διΐ: see also EUSEBIUS, praepar. Evang. IV. 16. p. 155. NEUMANN, Specimen Rerum Cretensium, p. 8. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 166.

[81] See BOETTIGER, Ideen zur Kunstmythologie, p. 379. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. II. pp. 71—73.

[82] LIVY, XXII. 56. GEUSIUS, Victimae Humanae, P. II. p. 136.

[83] DIODORUS SICULUS, XX. 14. where the statue of Kronos is spoken of nearly as that of Talos, in a passage already cited: Ἦν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδριὰς Κρόνου χαλκοῦς, ἐκτετακὼς τὰς χεῖρας—ὥστε τὸν ἐπιτεθέντα τῶν παίδων ἀποκυλίεσθαι καὶ πίπτειν εἰς τὶ χάσμα πλῆρες πυρός. See also PLUTARCH, de Superst. p. 171. c. and other authorities cited by WESSELING, on Diod. Sic. l. c. VOSSIUS de Origin. et Progr. Idolol. II. c. 5. BOECKH, on Pseudo-Plat. Min. Tom. II. p. 315. BUTTMANN, Mythologus, II. pp. 40—42. The customs of both Crete and Carthage seem to have been derived from a common source, Phoenicia.

[84] BOHLEN, Das alte Indien, Vol. I. p. 305.

[85] DIONYSIUS HALICARN. I. 38. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ Κρόνῳ τοὺς παλαιούς, ὥσπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι, τέως ἡ πόλις διέμεινε, καὶ παρὰ Κελτοῖς εἰς τόδε χρόνου γίνεται, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἐθνῶν, ἀνδροφόνους. PORPHYRY might also be quoted.

[86] BOHLEN, l. c.

[87] WIERUS, de praestig. daemon. I. 5. p. 42: GEUSIUS, Victimae Humanae, P. I. Cap. III.: and the other authors indicated by FABRICIUS, Bibliographia Antiquaria, Cap. XI. p. 350. and BOHLEN, Genesis, p. 230.

found traces of the same horrible practice. Every one knows that it was also an essential observance of the ancient Druidical religion of Gaul and Britain: and, in more modern times, it has been found in a great part of the American continent.

Melancholy is the truth that the soil of Christian lands has also been defiled by the blood of somewhat similar human offerings. In countries where the Inquisition has prevailed, the modern priests of Moloch have been in the habit of celebrating their bloody rites with an *auto da fe;* and, even in England, we may regard the religious fires, of the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, as lighted up by idolaters of ancient Palestine or Crete, rather than by men professing the religion of the Gospel[88].

From the time when the triple hecatomb of human victims was thus consumed by the flames, in the grotto of Melidhóni, till the hour of my arrival at the village, no one of the people around me has ever ventured to enter the place where their nearest relatives perished. Many of them have wished to do so, but they have been deterred by superstitious fears, which, even without the occurrence of so terrible a calamity, would have been felt to check intrusion, within the sacred cave, by their heathen ancestors. "Intra spatium est, magis quam ut progredi quispiam ausit, horribile, et adeo incognitum. Totus autem augustus et vere sacer, habitarique a Diis et dignus et creditus, nihil non venerabile, et quasi cum aliquo numine se ostentat[89]."

Twelve or fourteen of the villagers were glad to have an opportunity of gratifying their curiosity, by a view of the cavern, in the safety which they supposed to be guaranteed by my presence. Manúlios was one of them.

[88] HALLAM, Constitutional History of England, Vol. I. p. 223, in a note, quotes an apology of BACON, for the "bowellings" of Catholics, "as less cruel than the wheel, or forcipation, or *even simple burning*."

[89] POMPONIUS MELA, I. 13. 3.

The mound of stones and earth heaped up by the Mohammedans at the entrance of the cave, which is near the summit of the mountain, almost entirely conceal from view the ancient inscription, of which I have spoken[90]. The face of the hill is nearly perpendicular, and is not very high above the mouth of the cavern: thus it allowed the Mohammedans to throw down earth and stones from its summit, without being themselves exposed to the shots of the Christians, whose destruction they were endeavouring to accomplish.

On passing the entrance, we find ourselves in a spacious cavern[91], running east and west and almost as wide as it is long: the ground descends nearly all the way to its eastern end: its vault and sides are so fretted with noble stalactites that they may be said to consist of them; and stalagmites, some of which are of a great size, are seen scattered on different parts of the ground. About the middle of this great entrance chamber, and on its south side, is the mouth of a low and wide passage leading to a room about twenty feet long, twelve feet wide, and from ten to twenty feet high, also full of stalactites. The passage is about thirty feet long, and its stalactites, in some places, come down to the ground: at the entrance is a group of skulls: in the first cavern also are two heaps of skulls and human bones. On the opposite side of this first or entrance cavern is a great passage about twenty feet wide, and, as well as I can judge, somewhat more than sixty feet high. At a little distance from its extremity is a great group of stalactites which so fills it up, as to leave only a pass, six feet in width, unoccupied. Beyond this spot the passage becomes about thirty feet wide and eighty feet high. Among the many beautiful and sometimes fantastic forms, in which the stalactites are seen to hang, I notice

[90] See above, p. 126. and also below, p. 138.

[91] It is ninety-six feet in width at the end of the heaped up earth and stones thrown in by the Mohammedans: its whole length is about one hundred and fifteen feet.

here, to the left, what might be almost taken for a gothic church-window, and, a little below it, the entrance of a cavern. Our progress in this passage is suddenly arrested by a perpendicular descent of about eighteen feet: the cave has every appearance of extending to some distance in this direction, but not having a ladder we cannot explore its recesses. The stalactites a little before us in this part, to which we can approach no nearer, hang down in a great cluster as much as thirty feet below the level on which we are standing. Returning hence to the entrance cavern, we turn, at its north or rather north-eastern extremity, along another passage: after continuing for about ten feet, it enlarges into a kind of room twenty-seven feet long, at the further end of which we again enter a narrow pass the length of which is thirteen feet. On emerging from this passage, which we do with considerable difficulty, by clambering round the rock, and letting ourselves down, as well as we can, into another apartment, we find before us a view the grandeur and beauty of which surpasses all that we have heretofore seen. On looking back at the hole in the rock, through which we have just emerged, and where one of my attendants is standing with a lighted taper, the effect is very striking. The apartment in which we have now arrived is about 150 feet long[92], and varies greatly in width: its height is pretty nearly uniform, and is considerable. Between twenty and thirty feet from the mouth of the pass by which we entered, is a great stalagmite, which rises up and forms a column reaching to the top of the cave, while the stalactites on each side hang in the most beautiful order: near the great central mass the bones and skulls of the poor Christians are so thickly scattered, that it is almost impossible to avoid crushing them as we pick our steps along. On the south-western side of this apartment a

[92] The inner apartment of the celebrated Corycian cave of Mount Parnassus, is not quite one hundred feet in length: see LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. II. p. 580.

A. Schranz. del

L. Haghe. lith.

GROTTO of MELIDHONI.

complete range of stalactites separates it from a good sized passage; after walking along which we enter a much smaller one, only eight feet long, which leads into a very little room, where we find water and many earthenware vessels. They were already firmly and almost inseparably attached to the ground by means of the deposit left by the constant dripping of the water. In the course of a century it would wholly have imbedded them in stalagmites. My Greek companions, with great difficulty, succeeded in rescuing these utensils from the grave which was beginning to swallow them up. Going on from this chamber, we traverse a passage so low and narrow that we are obliged to crawl on our hands and knees, and descend into a small room, the ground in which is literally covered with bones and skulls: in its centre is a columnar stalagmite, which reaches from the ground to the rocks about eighteen feet above our heads. There are also some other considerable stalagmites in the room. A narrow passage leads, by a steep descent, from this chamber to another nearly under it, also small; and on entering which about a dozen skulls, and a proportionate number of bones, are seen spread over the ground. This then was the furthest point to which the unhappy refugees could flee, and here the last of them perished.

The want of a sufficient number of lights, on our first visit, prevented my examining the cavern as I wished: I therefore returned to it on the Sunday morning, having first obtained, from the Papás of Melidhóni, a supply of wax candles, of his own manufacture. The above account is the result of both my visits.

I cannot finish speaking on this subject, without recurring to the inscription, of which I have already made mention, and which is now wholly buried by the mass of earth and stones heaped up at the entrance of the cavern. The copy sent to Gruter by Pigafetta, was made with some care, and the verses, as given below, may now be said to contain only one word, Salvius or

Sallonius, about the reading of which any doubt can be entertained[93].

O Hermes, dwelling midst Tallaean hills!
This pure libation mayest thou approve,
Which, in thy honour, Salvius Menas fills,
Of holy things, the offerings of his love.

He, erst, while still his consort saw the light,
With her did yearly thy abode frequent;
But long has failed to observe the annual rite,
Since his chaste wife's career, on earth, was spent.

Yet, knowing that the Gods must honour'd be,
Now brings this double sacrifice divine;
Do thou protect him, Mighty God, that he
May live, and honour long this ground of thine.

Artemis was the name of the chaste wife whose loss is here deplored.

Undoubtedly the grotto was considered as sacred to Hermes, whose worship also prevailed in other parts of the island[94]. Caverns seem to have been dedicated

[93] The following is the inscription in question, as published in the work of the great philologer of Berlin.

Ἄρτεμις ἡ Σαλουΐου θυγάτηρ.
Οὔρεσι Ταλλαίοισιν ἱδρυμένε Μαιάδος Ἑρμῆ,
σπονδὴν καὶ θυσίην δέξο φιλοφρόσυνος,
ἣν σοι Σαλουΐος Μηνᾶς λοιβαῖσι γεραίρει,
κτήσεος ἐξ ὁσίης ψυχικὰ δῶρα διδούς.
καὶ πρὶν μὲν ζώσης ἀλόχου φάος εἰσοροώσης,
σὺν κείνῃ κατ' ἔτος σοὺς ἐγέραιρε τόπους·
ἀνθ' ὧν δ' ἐνχρονίσας ἐπετήσιον οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν,
συμβίου ἀγνοτάτας τοῦδε καταφθιμένας,
ἀλγήσας φρένα πολλά, μαθὼν δ' ὅτι δεῖ τά γε θεῖα
τιμᾶν, διπλῆν σοι τήνδ' ἔπορεν θυσί(η)ν.
καὶ σὺ δέ, παντοκράτωρ Ἐριούνιε, τόνδε φυλάσσοις
ζωόν, ὅπως τιμᾷ σὸν δι' ὅλου τέμενος.

[94] As appears from coins of Aptera, Sybritia, and Lyttos, as well as from some ancient legends, and from the positive testimony of authors, quoted by NEUMANN, Rerum Creticarum Specimen, p. 130. and HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 39.

to various deities: one, in Mount Ida, was sacred to Zeus[95]; another, at Steunos, to the Mother of the Gods; a third, at Hylae near Magnesia on the Maeander, to Apollo[96]; and a fourth, at Lebadeia, to Trophonios[97]. Pan and the Nymphs were, however, most frequently honoured in such places: to them was dedicated the celebrated Corycian cavern of Mount Parnassus[98]. A grotto near Marathon[99], and another under the acropolis of Athens[100], were also sacred to Pan, and other similar Paneia might be mentioned. A Silenos-like figure of Pan likewise appears, in company with the Nymphs, in two bas-reliefs, one of which is cut on the living rock in a cave of Paros[101], and the other was found at

[95] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 70.

[96] PAUSANIAS, x. pp. 877 and 878.

[97] PAUSANIAS, IX. p. 789. foll. LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. II. pp. 121—132.

[98] STRABO, IX. p. 417. PAUSANIAS, X. p. 878. Ἱερὸν δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Κωρυκίων Νυμφῶν καὶ Πανὸς μάλιστα ἥγηνται. Compare AESCHYLUS, Eumen. 23. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, II. 711. and OVID, Met. I. 320. Hence Pan is called Κωρύκιος by OPPIAN, Halieut. III. 15.

Πανὶ δὲ Κωρυκίῳ βυθίην παρακάτθεο τέχνην:

as was observed by BARNES, on Eurip. Ion, 495. For a description of the cavern in question, consult RAIKES, in Walpole's Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, Vol. I. pp. 311—315; and LEAKE, referred to above, p. 136.

[99] PAUSANIAS, I. p. 80. DODWELL, Tour through Greece, Vol. II. p. 162.

[100] HERODOTUS, VI. 105. EURIPIDES, Ion, 11. 283. 494. 937. ARISTOPHANES, Lysist. 911. Bekk. and Schol. PAUSANIAS, I. p. 68. LUCIAN, Bis Accusat. 9. Tom. II. p. 801. ed. Hemst. STUART's Antiquities of Athens, Vol. I. p. 15. HOBHOUSE, Journey, Vol. I. p. 336. DODWELL, Vol. I. p. 304. LEAKE, Topography of Athens, pp. 62 and 126.

[101] TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Tom. I. p. 201. STUART has given an engraving of this offering in his Antiquities of Athens. When on the spot, in the Summer of 1833, I copied the inscription under the bas-relief:

ΑΔΑΜΑΣ
ΟΔΡΥΣΗΣ
ΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ

This monument is described by Colonel LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. II. pp. 90—92.

Athens[102]. He is also joined with them in the well known inscription of the grotto of Vári in Attica[103]. The Nymphaeon of Phyle was a scene in Menander's comedy the Dyscolos[104].

As the Tallaean grotto served, though with a tragical result, as a place of refuge for the people of Melidhóni, so the Corycian cave received the inhabitants of Delphi within its friendly obscurity, at the time of the Persian invasion[105]: and so also the Phrygians of Themisonion, near Laodicea, found safety, when the Gauls overran Ionia and the districts near it, in a cavern, distant about thirty stades from their city, at the entrance of which they afterwards erected small statues of Heracles, Hermes, and Apollo, the gods who had pointed it out to them[106].

February 23.

The Proestós of Melidhóni, Konstantínos Konstantudhákes, my host, had two sisters, one sister-in-law, and twelve other relations in the cave: his wife lost a sister with all her children, and two uncles. The other surviving villagers of Melidhóni lost their relations in a similar way. Melidhóni, before the Greek revolution, contained 140 Christian and ten Mohammedan families; about four times its present population.

My host has an orphan niece, Iréne, living with him: his daughter, a lively little girl about three years old, is called Kalliópe. Of these two female names one is derived from a Christian saint, and the other from a heathen goddess.

[102] PACIAUDI, Monumenta Peloponnesiaca, Vol. I. p. 207. It is also engraved in the MUSEUM WORSLEYANUM.

[103] First visited and described by CHANDLER, Travels in Greece, c. XXXII. See also HOBHOUSE, Journey, Vol. I. Letter XXVII, p. 404. DODWELL, Tour, Vol. I. pp. 550—555. LEAKE, on the Demi of Attica, pp. 147, 148. WORDSWORTH, Athens and Attica, c. XXV.

[104] MENANDER, in Harpocrat. p. 179. See MEINEKE, p. 52. and DODWELL, Tour, Vol. I. pp. 505—508.

[105] HERODOTUS, VIII. 36.

[106] PAUSANIAS, X. p. 877.

The custom of bestowing on mortal children names of the inhabitants of heaven, though not practised in the most ancient times, is still of considerable antiquity; and both inscriptions and passages of ancient authors, record many names of deities, which were thus bestowed on the sons and daughters of men. We have just seen, in the inscription of the grotto, the name of such a mortal wife Artemis: Kalliope is also found[107], as well as Pallas, Aphrodite, Hermes, and Bacchus, in other Greek inscriptions[108], and among the ancient Romans the usage was still more generally prevalent[109]. It seems that the spread of Christianity so gently interfered with this Pagan practice, that words, derived from the old religion of the country, may still be hourly heard in the mouth of any Christian peasant of Greece or Turkey, even in the nineteenth century of our era.

Nevertheless, here, as in most parts of Christendom, the names of the favourite saints are those generally bestowed in baptism[110]: thus a Demetrios and a Constantine, a Spyridon and a Basil, are found in every village[111]. The inferior deities of the ancient mythology

[107] BOECKH, Corpus Inscr. n. 251.

[108] WELCKER, Syllog. Epigr. Graec. n. 76. 87. 120.

[109] As is observed by WELCKER, l. c. p. 166.

[110] The inhabitants of the young Otho's kingdom, who have given themselves the name of Hellenes, have, at all events in the large towns, introduced great innovations into the baptismal vocabulary. The petty shopkeeper of Syra or Nauplia, himself a Yannáki or a Dhemetráki, has lately heard so much talk about the ancient Hellenes, whose name "the nation" has assumed, that he has taken care to number among his children an Achilles or a Demosthenes!

[111] The derivation of Greek names, of a Christian origin, can sometimes be traced to a higher source than the Saints. *Derivatives* from the name of Christ, as Khristódhulos, are common. The ancients also had many names derived, but without composition, from those of Deities, as from Demeter, Demetrios; from Poseidon, Poseidonios; from Hephaestos, Hephaestion, &c. See BARTHELEMY, Voyage du Jeune Anacharse, c. LXVI. and WELCKER, l. c. p. 166. The simple name of "Christ," Khristós, is also borne by many families in Northern Greece. Its diminutive is *Kitso*, which may be compared to the *Kit* obtained, in English, from *Christo*pher. The French have even "Dieu" as a surname, and the Italian baptismal appellation, "Spiritello," may perhaps have been derived from the third person of the Trinity.

Sophia,

have, however, at all events, greatly aided the saints in supplying the modern Greek with his baptismal nomenclature; and, for the tens of thousands of men, who now bear the names of Christian saints, there are thousands of women who have only those of Pagan goddesses[112].

Sophia, which has become a common name in most European languages, properly denotes the Eternal Wisdom of the Godhead, the object of the dedication of Justinian's celebrated temple, and not a mere Saint. In the faith of the modern Greek, however, Haghía Sophía is as much an individual Saint as Veronica is now at Rome, or as Amphibolus used to be in Great Britain.

[112] We have similar phenomena in our own country, where certain Saints have supplied even the hereditary surnames of more than one noble house; and where we may also find, though more rarely, the names of pagan Gods, (I have myself met with those of *Bacchus* and *Mars*,) descending from father to son in Christian families. The life of the Jesuit *Diana* has been written by Bayle: and the name of Professor *Pallas* must also be known to many of my readers.

ANCIENT WALLS OF AXOS.

CHAPTER VIII.

GHARAZO. PLACES CALLED AXOS AND ELEVTHERNA. RAIN, WINE, AND MODERN SONGS. CELIBACY OF THE REGULAR CLERGY. VISIT TO THE SITE OF AXOS. ANCIENT REMAINS, AND INSCRIPTIONS. ORPHIC TRADITIONS RESPECTING ZEUS AND PERSEPHONE. THE ANCIENT SYNCRETISM. PHYSICAL FEATURES OF AXOS. SITE OF PANORMOS. RIDE TO GONIES.

February 24.

THE fine groves of olives, through which I pass for half an hour after leaving Melidhóni, are many of them entirely uncultivated. Soon after reaching the regular road, which, when on my way to Melidhóni, I left immediately after crossing the river at Pérama, I pass the village of Dhafnídhes: it is a quarter of a mile to the right. The valley in which we now find ourselves is well filled with olive-trees; the river winds through it, and its scenery is picturesque. Mount Ida is on our right, and the hill of Melidhóni is still before us. Beyond Dhafnídhes we see the smoke ascending from the little village of Kefáli, which is entirely concealed from view

by the trees. The road winds along the valley, sometimes on the banks of the river, sometimes actually in its bed, for near three miles before we arrive at the Khan Papativrýsi, now a ruin. Rain had begun to fall in torrents before we reached this place, and, on finding that it afforded no shelter, we ascended on the south side of the valley up to the village of Gharázo. In its neighbourhood there is no such place as "Lasos," which, on looking at Lapie's map, any one would expect to find somewhere near it.

We lodge in the house of a monk who is the resident at this metókhi of the monastery Vósako, near the village of Sises, at the foot of mount Kutzutrúli, and where there are fifteen monks. They had twelve pairs of oxen before the revolution, but now have only four. Before the revolution the monastery possessed a library, which was destroyed when the church and other buildings of the society were burnt. This monk, with whom we lodge, has a female housekeeper whose daughter is ten or twelve years old: his secular name was Michael, but on becoming anagnóstes, the first step taken towards the priesthood, he changed it to Melétios. The name is always thus changed on that occasion.

This village of Gharázo, the metókhis of Omála, Músa and Nesí, being reckoned with it, is said to have about 12,000 olive-trees, of which between two and three thousand are uncultivated.

One Agá, Khanialúki-Zikní-bey, still receives the seventh of all the produce, as used to be the case, the Pashá only taking the kharátj and four parás per oke on the wine.

Gharázo is celebrated for the beauty of its female inhabitants, and a common proverb asserts, in very plain and unequivocal terms, that

Gharázo's dames are facile as they're fair.

We had rain here, with scarcely any intermission, during the whole day: the old priest produced eggs,

fried in oil, olives, cheese, oranges and wine for breakfast: and, a little before sun-set, we were indebted to the zeal of the grammatikós of the village, in my service, for an excellent repast. In consequence of his active exertions, we sat down to a dinner of soup, fowl, stewed mutton, and other dishes, all which was accompanied by most excellent wine, so far superior to that of all parts of the continent of Greece, that we could wish for no better: thus we soon became heedless of the hostile elements, which, on so rainy and windy a day, would otherwise have caused us no slight discomfort in this monk's poor hut, through which the wind whistled and the rain penetrated in half a dozen places. Having listened to some songs of my Sfakian Captain Maniás, we rolled ourselves up in our clokes, and slept through the greater part of the night.

February 25.

I was again detained in the monk's cottage, throughout the whole of this day, by the incessant rain, which kept dripping heavily through several places in the roof. The discomforts of the lodging continued to be greatly alleviated by the zeal which the priest and the grammatikós of the village manifested to supply our wants; and by the welcome information that there is a village called 'Axos, where are many ancient remains, only about four miles off. I learnt, too, that the river which flows near this site, the same that we crossed several times on our way hither, always becomes a torrent, and continues impassable for some time after rain, a fact which agrees perfectly with Virgil's expression, "rapidum Cretae veniemus Oaxen[1]."

Remembering the assertion of Stephanus of Byzantium, that Axos was not far from Eleutherna[2], I made enquiries after the latter city, and learnt, to my great delight, that a village called Elevtherna[3], is situated

[1] Virgil, Ecl. i. 66.

[2] Stephanus Byzantinus, Ὄαξος, πόλις Κρήτης, Ἐλευθέρας οὐ πόρρω. [3] Στὴν Ἐλεύθερναν.

somewhat higher up on the ridges of mount Ida, Psylorítes, about twelve miles from 'Axos, and very near the great convent of Arkádhi, which possesses a metókhi on the site. I was told that Eleýtherna will, however, perhaps, be inaccessible, on account of the snow, at this time of the year: at any rate both the sites are clearly determined to be at places which still bear the names of the ancient cities.

Among the songs, which my ever-talking and most amusing guide, Captain Maniás, repeated to-day, were one or two which a Boccaccio would have delighted to hear. The immoral consequences of that celibacy, which is enforced on the monks of the Oriental church, have even become the theme of popular songs. Of such effusions of the modern Grecian muse, every Englishman, writing in the nineteenth century, must feel it difficult to publish specimens: and I cannot venture to transcribe those which I heard.

February 26.

At length the weather permitted me to leave Gharázo: the grammatikós of which village accompanied me as a guide. After a gentle ascent of about half an hour, during which I saw, on either side of the road, vineyards belonging to the village which I had just left, the country began to present a more and more barren appearance as we approached 'Axos. In the rocks, on our right, a few minutes before entering the village, I found five excavations, each of which would seem to have been a tomb. There are some peculiarities about them: they are arched at the top, and are covered over with plaster in the inside. Not one of them is hewn out of the solid rock, as the greater part of tombs, found by modern travellers in countries formerly occupied by the Greeks, usually are. One of them penetrates much further into the side of the hill than the others. The river of 'Axos flows past the village, through a valley on its north-eastern side, and will be crossed by me when I pursue my journey towards Megálo-Kástron.

Vibius Sequester[4] mentions, on the authority of Varro, that the river gave its name to Axos; but Xenion and Philisthenes derived the city's name from one Oaxos: his mother was Acacallis, the daughter of Minos[5], and his father Apollo[6].

These legends, connecting the city with Minos and Apollo, and its juxtaposition with Cnossos in Scylax, led Professor Hoeck to infer that it must have been situated "near the northern shore;" a conclusion amply justified by his premises, but which does not satisfy an English writer[7], who has discovered that Herodotus speaks of Axos "as a Cretan town of some importance, with an emporium on the sea." Herodotus, in the passage referred to[8], is giving an account of the colonization of Cyrene, and was led to speak of Axos, since, according to the tradition of the Cyrenaeans, the Theraean Battus their founder, was the son of a damsel named Phronime, the daughter of Etearchus, king of this city[9]. The Greek historian also tells us that one Themiso, a Theraean merchant, was then at Axos, and a little further on he speaks of his departure from the island, taking Phronime with him: a relation which certainly does not at

[4] VIBIUS SEQUESTER, de flum. p. 15. ed. Oberl. With the words of VARRO, preserved also in SERVIUS, on Virg. Ecl. I. 66.

> Quos magno Anchiale partus adducta dolore,
> Et geminis capiens tellurem Oaxida palmis,
> Edidit in Creta,

we must compare Apollonius Rhodius, cited above, p. 59.

[5] STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, Ὄαξος—καθὰ Ξενίων ἀπὸ Ὀάξου τῆς Ἀκακάλλιδος τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ Μίνω. The same lady was the legendary mother of Cydon, the mythical founder of another ancient Cretan city: STEPHANUS BYZANT. Κυδωνία, πόλις Κρήτης, ἡ πρότερον Ἀπολλωνία· ἀπὸ Κύδωνος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀκακάλλιδος τῆς Μίνωος θυγατρός.

[6] PHILISTHENES, in Servius, l. c.

[7] CRAMER, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 381.

[8] HERODOTUS, IV. 154.

[9] The chief magistrate in every independent state in Crete was called not *king*, but *kosmos*. Professor HOECK therefore supposes that in this passage of Herodotus we find the last vestige of the kingly office of the heroic age. Mr THIRLWALL, however, observes (History of Greece, Vol. I. Ch. VII. p. 285.) that it is not certain what office may have been described by the name king, and that "it may have been substituted for the genuine Cretan title."

all imply that Axos had "an emporium on the sea," although it does seem to show it to have been "a place of some importance." Neither does it appear that such an inference, as that it had an emporium on the sea, can be obtained from its coins; for, though those of several other more considerable inland Cretan cities would alone suffice to satisfy us that they possessed ports, if not emporiums, down on the coast, as Phaestos, Lyttos, Rhaucos, Elyros, yet those of Axos present only types of Zeus and Apollo, as might have been expected in a city situated on the very slopes of mount Ida, and the foundation of which was assigned by one of their legends to a son of the latter god[10]. The reverse of each coin has the name of the people FAΞIΩN or, more commonly, ϹAΞIΩN, the digamma at the beginning of which words has been corrupted, both by editors[11] and numismatists[12], into Σ, so that we have read of a city Saxus or Saxia; while the unlucky word was also changed by a more ancient blunder, in the text of Scylax, into Paxus. The digamma is not of very common occurrence in coins; it is however found on several of those of the Epizephyrian Locrians.

This Axian coin, which has the thunderbolt and the first letters of the people's name on its reverse, was

[10] The mythology of autonomous Greek coins is almost always connected with local legends: and, even under the Roman Emperors, to take illustrations, which might be found in any quarter of Greece, from Crete alone, Gortyna retained Europa and the bull, Cydonia the she-wolf and young Miletus, Hierapytna her eagle and palm-tree, Lappa its Apollo. It is true that in these later times we sometimes find on a coin the attributes of a god unconnected with the place: for instance, when it was meant to pay a compliment to the reigning Emperor. Thus the tripod appears on the coins of Nero struck at Ephesus, because he used to call himself Apollo. See VAILLANT'S Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum Praestantiora, Tom. II. p. 69.

[11] CHISHULL, Antiquit. Asiat. p. 125.

[12] PELLERIN, Recueil de Médailles de peuples et de villes, Tom. III. p. 72. Of the Cretan city Naxos I shall have to speak in the latter part of my work. As to CHANDLER'S reading, NAΞIΩN, in the Teian inscription, "nihili est." With ECKHEL, Doctrina N. V. Vol. II. p. 395. compare BOECKH, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, Vol. II. p. 638.

attributed by Beger[13] and after him by Pellerin[14], to Axia, a city of the Ozolian Locrians, to which no other coin has been assigned; and, in this mistake, Pellerin is, as usual, faithfully and unhesitatingly followed by M. Mionnet[15], in spite of the plain indications that the coin belonged to a place in which Zeus was a peculiar object of the people's worship, which he does not appear to have been, as far as I am aware, among the Ozolian Locrians.

In attributing this coin to the Axians, Beger[16], it is true, speaks of the place as a city of the Ozolian Locrians where Zeus was worshipped; but his only authority for the fact is the coin in question. He doubted, admitting the Cretan Zeus to be better known than the Locrian, whether a city Axos could be proved to have existed in Crete, misled by a false reading in Herodotus, in whose text old editions have Oaxos, and feeling that, since Stephanus of Byzantium quotes Herodotus, it is in the latter's text that we were to look for the true name of the city. He might, however, have found two notices of the place in Stephanus, under the words Oaxos and Axos[17]. The city Eleutherna is also thus recorded by him under the two forms Eleutherna and Eleuthera. Beger did not refer the coin to Axia, a city of the Epizephyrian Locrians, because Cicero[18] speaks of it, not as a city, but a mere castle. As to Axia of the Ozolian Locrians, I may add, that not only is no other coin of the place to be met with, but the city is altogether unknown except from a solitary passage of Stephanus of Byzantium[19], whose assertion is so singular,

[13] BEGER, Thesaurus Brandeburgicus Selectus, Tom. I. pp. 467, 8.

[14] PELLERIN, Recueil, Tom. I. p. 99.

[15] MIONNET, Tom. II. p. 90.

[16] BEGER, l. c. Tom. I. pp. 467–8.

[17] STEPHAN. BYZANT. Ἄξος πόλις Κρήτης ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τετάρτῃ.

[18] CICERO, pro A. Caecina, §. 7. Caecina cum amicis ad diem venit in castellum Axiam: ex quo loco fundus is, de quo agitur, non longe abest.

[19] STEPHAN. BYZANT. Ἀξία πόλις Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζόλων, ἀπὸ Ἀξίας τῆς θυγατρὸς Κλυμένου, ἢ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ Ἀξίου, ἔστι καὶ πόλις Ἰταλίας.

when compared with the silence of all other authors, that it is remarked on by some of his editors[20], and it must be admitted, that even if such a spot did once exist, at all events it was never a place of any note, and never struck autonomous coins.

A modern geographer[21] infers that since Axos is mentioned by no ancient writer after Herodotus, it probably became a provincial town (*landstaedtchen*) of Eleutherna: a supposition which is not only gratuitous, but is positively inconsistent with direct evidence; for we know, from the Teian inscriptions[22], that the Axians exercised the privileges of an independent state more than 200 years after this time; and, as Mannert himself mentions, it comes forward again, at a much later period, in Hierocles[23], under the miswritten name of Oaxios.

Soon after my arrival at 'Axos, I met with a man who became my guide to the so-called Hellenic walls, situated, as I soon found, about half a mile to the south-east of the present village, and consisting of remains of an aqueduct running across the summit of the little valley, between the hill on the acclivity of which the modern village stands and a loftier hill to the S.S.W. The space between the two hills is about seventy or eighty paces wide. Two pieces of the aqueduct are still standing, one of them about sixteen paces long and thirty feet high, the other a short piece of the same height. The stones of these remains are small, and a great deal of mortar is used: in the smaller fragment is a void, from which my guide assured me that a Frank had removed "a piece of marble" some years ago. But without placing faith in this account, and inferring that the aqueduct was built after the Venetian conquest, when any monument of ancient art was used, as may

[20] THOMAS DE PINEDO, p. 89. a. or STEPHAN. BYZANT. Tom. IV. p. 134. ed. Lips. 1825.

[21] MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VIII. p. 726.

[22] CHISHULL, p. 116.

[23] HIEROCLES, Synecdem. §. 11. p. 650. ed. Wesseling.

be seen in the walls of many fortresses, merely as building materials, it is evident that the work in question was not coeval with the ancient republic of Axos, and cannot be assigned to a more ancient period than the lower Greek empire.

Positive assurances of the existence of an inscription on the loftier hill caused me to mount nearly to its summit, treading on snow during part of the ascent, a fact which gives an idea of our elevation above the level of the sea. The so-called inscription turned out to be a few unmeaning scratches on a stone: a result for which it is necessary always to be prepared, when one's poor guides can scarcely any of them read.

It seemed clear to me that ancient remains were most likely to be found on the hill along the side of which we had wound on leaving Axos, and for the use of the houses on which the ruined aqueduct had plainly been constructed: I therefore ascended its north side, and, in the cultivated fields around it, found the commonest and most certain indication of an ancient site, innumerable fragments of old pottery. The pleasure and hope caused by this discovery were, however, soon damped by my finding remains of the walls of a middle-age fortress running round what undoubtedly was the old acropolis. This was most probably one of the many Genoese forts built early in the thirteenth century. After the establishment of peace in the island, about 140 years later, it fell into neglect, like most of the others, so that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the population of 'Axos hardly exceeded its present amount. Of course the construction of the fortress must necessarily have destroyed the greater part of the ancient walls of the acropolis, even if they had escaped the ravages of so many previous centuries. I searched, however, diligently throughout their circuit, in the hope of finding something belonging to a better age, and I was successful; for I discovered on the north side of the acropolis, fragments of polygonal

masonry, the masses of which are carefully fitted together without cement. An inspection of the sketch of these remains, which has already met my reader's eye[24], shews that they belong to the earliest style of the so-called cyclopean or pelasgic walls[25]. Within these outer walls I also found some remains of what I suppose to have been a fortress within the acropolis.

At some little distance from this ancient acropolis, on the side of the hill, just above the modern village, is the dilapidated church of Hághios Ioánnes: its sides and roof are entirely covered with rude fresco paintings, and a considerable part of its floor consists of remains of mosaic work, of no great excellence, but still of considerable antiquity, and which I should suppose to have belonged originally to the building, the place of which was afterwards occupied by the Christian church. On returning to the village I found in the wall of the church Τοῦ Σταυρωμένου[26], a beautiful piece of white marble, on which is a sepulchral inscription in the ancient Doric Greek of the island. All its letters are as clear as when they were first cut.

ΜΗΜΟΥΕΝΥΒΡΙΞΗΣΑΓΝ
ΤΑΦΟΝΩΓΑΡΟΔΙΤΑ
ΜΗΣΟΙΜΗΝΙΣΗΓΙΚΡΟΝ
ΕΓΑΓΕΣΙΛΑΣ
ΦΕΡΣΕΦΟΝΑΤΕΚΟΡΑ
ΔΑΜΑΤΕΡΟΣ ΑΛΛΑΓΑΡΕΡ
ΓΩΝ-ΕΙΓΟΝΑΡΑΤΙΩ
ΓΑΙΑΝΕΧΟΙΣΕΛΑΦΡΑΝ [27]

[24] Above at p. 143.

[25] Thus, too, at Argos, "a ruined castle, of lower Greek or Frank construction, which occupies the summit of this rocky hill, still preserves, amidst the rude masonry of its crumbling walls, some remains of those of the ancient Acropolis." See Colonel LEAKE's excellent work, Travels in the Morea, Vol. II. p. 395.

[26] Τοῦ Σταυρομένου of the Crucifix, or the Holy Rood, as it used to be called in England.

[27] Μή μου ἐνυβρίζῃς ἁγνὸν τάφον, ὦ παροδῖτα,
μή σοι μηνίσῃ πικρὸν ἔπ' Ἀγεσίλας,
Φερσεφόνα

Insult not this my tomb, O passer by,
Lest thou incur Agesilas's wrath,
And stern Phersephone's: but, passing nigh,
Say, to Arate, "on thee lie light the earth!"

The name Agesilas is here bestowed on Pluto, to whom it is also given by Aeschylus, and other authors[28]. The inscription was incorrectly copied, several centuries ago, and is published in Gruter[29]. In the *Epagesime*, which, owing to the carelessness of the transcriber, was found at the end of the second verse, the sagacity of Bentley detected the Aeschylean epithet of Pluto; and the conjecture of "Cam's mighty Aristarch", ἐπ' Ἀγεσίλᾳ, all but restored the true reading of the inscription[30]. Ruhnken, retaining μηνίσῃ, which Bentley had changed into μηνίω, suggested that the ἔπι was separated from its case σοι, and that Ἀγεσίλας must have been the original word of the epitaph[31]: an ingenious and happy conjecture, which receives a more complete proof of its truth, by my copy of the inscription, than can ordinarily be obtained by any piece of conjectural criticism.

Φερσεφόνα τε κόρα Δαματέρος· ἀλλὰ παρέρπων
εἰπὸν Ἀρατίῳ· Γαῖαν ἔχοις ἐλαφράν.

With the concluding words the reader may compare the well-known letters of Roman sepulcral inscriptions, S. T. T. L. Sit tibi terra levis, and many passages of ancient poets. OVID, Amor. III. 10. 67.

Ossa quieta, precor, tuta requiescite in urna
Et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo.

PERSIUS, I. 37.

Non levior cippus nunc imprimit ossa!

[28] ATHENAEUS, III. p. 99. B. Οἶδα δ' ὅτι καὶ Σιμωνίδης που ὁ ποιητὴς ἀρίσταρχον εἶπε τὸν Δία, καὶ Αἰσχύλος τὸν Ἅιδην ἀγησίλαον. CALLIMACHUS, Bath of Pallas, v. 130.

Καὶ μόνος, εὖτε θάνῃ, πεπνυμένος ἐν νεκύεσσιν
φοιτασεῖ, μεγάλῳ τίμιος Ἀγεσίλᾳ.

See JACOBS, Anthologia Graeca, Tom. XII. p. 339. On the words Phersephone and Persephassa, applied to the daughter of Demeter, see HESYCHIUS, in Φερσεφόνεια: SPANHEIM, on Aristoph. Nub. 683. HEINDORF, on Plat. Cratyl. p. 404. KOCH, Antonin. Liberal. p. 234: and on the etymology of the name of Phersephone, and its application to Aphrodite, see WELCKER, Sylloge Epigramm. Graec. p. 261. fol.

[29] GRUTER, p. MCXXX. No. 9.

[30] BENTLEY, on CALLIMACHUS, l. c. Tom. II. p. 13. ed. Ernest.

[31] RUHNKEN, Epistol. Crit. p. 113. Hemsterhuis also read Ἀγεσίλας.

The usage of ξ, instead of σ or σσ, in the word ἐννβρίξης, is not at all surprising. The Cretan inscriptions, published by Chishull, contain δικάξασθαι, ψαφιξαμένοις, and other similar Cretan dorisms.

This virgin daughter of Demeter, Persephone, was usually called Coré: and it is from her name, rather than from that of any other goddess, that one would wish to derive the Cretan Corion[32], were it not for the former existence of a temple, dedicated to the virgin Goddess Athene, at the place.

In the Orphic poems, and other repertories of those later legends, which delighted in fixing on Crete as the scene of many amours of both gods and goddesses, we find frequent mention of Persephone.

According to the poet Bacchylides, she was carried off by Pluto, not from the shores of Sicily, but from those of Crete[33]. One origin of the name of the Corybantes was derived from the guard which they were said to have kept over Persephone[34], in order to defend her against the incestuous designs of Zeus. The love which that peculiarly Cretan god had once felt for Demeter, or Rhea, was now transferred to her daughter. The sacred form of serpents was assumed by both the maiden and her suitor[35], and, in due time, Persephone became the mother of the celebrated Zagreus; who, while yet a child, was

[32] Above, p. 72.

[33] HESIOD, Theog. 913.

Ἣ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκώλενον, ἣν Ἀϊδωνεύς
ἥρπασεν ἧς παρὰ μητρός.

Where the SCHOLIAST says: Ἡρπάσθαι δὲ τὴν Περσεφόνην φασὶν οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σικελίας, Βακχυλίδης δὲ ἐκ Κρήτης.

[34] See LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 546. who cites PROCULUS, Theol. VI. 13. 382. Ἀνὰ λόγον τοῖς ἐκεῖ Κουρῆσι ἡ τῶν Κορυβάντων τάξις προβαίνουσα σὺν τῇ Κόρῃ, καὶ φρουροῦσα αὐτὴν ὥς φησιν ἡ θεολογία, διὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαχον ταύτην.

[35] LOBECK, l. c. p. 548. ATHENAGORAS, c. XX. p. 292. Ζεὺς δέ—καὶ τὴν μητέρα Ῥέαν ἀπαγορεύουσαν αὐτοῦ τὸν γάμον ἐδίωκε· δρακαίνης δὲ αὐτῆς γενομένης—ἐμίγη—εἶτα Φερσεφόνῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐμίγη βιασάμενος καὶ αὐτὴν ἐν δράκοντος σχήματι. OVID, Met. VI. 114. speaks of Jupiter,

Aureus ut Danaen; Asopida luserit igneus;
Mnemosynen pastor, varius Deoïda serpens.

placed in the throne of Heaven, and received, with the sceptre and thunderbolts of his father, power over both gods and men[36]. The Curetes were charged to watch over the infant deity, but failed to guard him from the treacherous Titans, by whom he was torn limb from limb[37].

In a private house I found another inscription, the characters of which were large, but so indistinct, that I could make nothing more out of it than that it was written in Doric Greek. Before leaving the village I found others, which I might perhaps have succeeded in decypherıng, had I been able to spend more time in endeavouring to do so. As it was I copied enough to shew that one of them was a decree of a "common assembly of the Cretans."

ΕΔοΞΕΤΩΙΚοΙΝΩΙΤΩΙΚΡΗΤΑΙΕΩΝ
ΟΙΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΜΙΟΝΤΕΣΤ...ΩΙ.ΚΡΗ...Ε.Ν
ΤΗΙ.....Α....ΚΑΙ...ΤΕΥΤ...ΤΟΣ
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . ΠΟΔΕΔΕΓΜΕΝΑΙΚΑΙ.....
. . . . . .
ΤΩΙΚΟΙΝΩΙΤΩΙΚΡΗΤΑΙ.....
. . . . . ΕΥΝΟΙΑΝΤΩ

[36] NONNUS, Dionys. VI. 165.

Ζαγρέα γειναμένη κερόεν βρέφος, ὃς Διὸς ἕδρης
μοῦνος ἐπουρανίης ἐπεβήσατο, χειρὶ δὲ βαιῇ
ἀστεροπὴν ἐλέλιζε, νεηγενέος δὲ φορῆος
νηπιάχοις παλάμῃσιν ἐλαφρίζοντο κεραυνοί.

[37] NONNUS, l. c. v. 174.

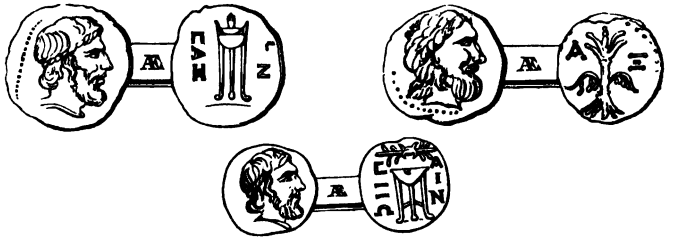
Ἔνθα διχαζομένων μελέων Τιτῆνι σιδήρῳ,
τέρμα βίου Διόνυσος ἔχων παλινάγρετον ἀρχήν,
ἀλλοφυὴς μορφοῦτο, πολυσπερὲς εἶδος ἀμείβων—
καὶ θρασὺς ὤκλασε ταῦρος· ἀμοιβαίῃ δὲ φονῆες
ταυροφυῆ Διόνυσον ἐμιστύλαντο μαχαίρῃ.

The mention of such a common assembly reminds us of the well-known *Syncretism*, as it was called. The different states of the island used always to lay aside their internal quarrels, and to unite in defence of their common country, whenever threatened by any foreign foe[38].

I also found the following fragment of an inscription:

ΟΙΟ
ΤΙΚΟCΜΙ
ΔΑΜΟΚΥΔ
ΤΟΝΣ
ΑΚΡΑΝΚΑ
ΚΑΙΤΑΝC
ΤΙΑΤΧΩ
ΤΩΝΝΙΩΓ
ΛΗCΕCΘ
ΤΟΔΙΚΟ

While I was in the modern Axos many coins of the ancient city, found by the peasants in tilling the ground, were shown to me. Out of nearly forty of them which I purchased, almost all were Cretan, and about sixteen were of Axos itself. None of them were of silver.



[38] PLUTARCH, on brotherly love, §. 19. (p. 490. b. or Tom. II. p. 993. ed. Wyttenb.) Μιμούμενον αὐτὸ γοῦν τοῦτο τῶν Κρητῶν, οἳ πολλάκις στασιάζοντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολεμοῦντες, ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντων πολεμίων διελύοντο καὶ συνίσταντο· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ὁ καλούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν συγκρητισμός. Compare the GREAT ETYMOLOGICON, in συγκρητίσαι, and HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 470.

Some silver coins of Axos have been published. The following is found in the Ducal cabinet at Modena, and is like one engraved in the Gotha Numaria of Liebe.

On leaving the village we began immediately to descend towards the river, which we crossed to the south-south-east of the acropolis, and soon after commenced our ascent. After passing the river we halted to look back on the district about Axos, which is certainly very barren and rocky. The situation of the city answers well to one of the etymologies of its name given in Stephanus of Byzantium: it was called Axos because the place is precipitous, Axos being used by the Cretans in the same sense as *agmos*, a break, was by the other Greeks[39].

The vicinity of the village is covered here and there by a few stunted olives, and some patches of tilled land: but the dreary barrenness of its immediate neighbourhood must always have been much the same as it is. I should imagine the district belonging to the ancient city to have extended down past Gharázo, and to have adjoined on the territory of Panormos somewhere in the fertile plain of Mylopótamos. Panormos is a city the remains of which are still seen not far from the shore, on a low hill near the ruins of Castle Mylopótamo, and they still retain their ancient name[40]. The situation of

[39] STEPHANUS BYZANT. v. Ἄαξος—τινὲς—διὰ τὸ κατάκρημνον εἶναι τὸν τόπον· καλοῦσι γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους τόπους ἄξους καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγμούς.

[40] I did not visit this site, but have had the good fortune of finding, at Venice, the clearest indications of its situation, in one of the numerous Italian and Venetian manuscripts which I consulted respecting the history of Crete between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. This MS. is in the Correr Collection, and is entitled, "Historia Candiana descritta da Andrea Cornaro

this city might have been supposed to be in this neighbourhood, from the passages of Ptolemy and Pliny in which it is mentioned. The former of those authors places it at some distance to the west of Heracleion, and in the latter's list it is found to the east of Rhithymna. How a modern writer[41] should refer to these passages of Ptolemy and Pliny, and at the same time say that "Panormos is Porto Panormo, near *Mirabel*", is, I confess, to me difficult to understand. Mirabello, as may be seen by looking at any map of Crete, is more than twenty miles to the east of Karteró, which the same author supposes to have been the site of Heracleion, and is still further to the east of Megálo-Kástro, if Heracleion was situated there. I wonder that Professor Hoeck[42] should not have seen that these passages, particularly that of Pliny[43], can not be reconciled with the supposition that Panormos stood where we now find the principal city of the island[44].

After halting a little while, to take a distant sketch of Ἄξος and its neighbourhood, we go on ascending, on the

Cornaro—nobile Veneto, habitante nella città di Candia metropoli del regno." It appears to have been written early in the last century. At p. 114. the author describes the siege by the Greeks under Leone Calergi, in the year 1341, of Castle Mylopótamo, "nel quale erano li Veneti per defenderlo et opponersi al nemico: et quinci non longi *in uno basso colle, si descerne ancora le vestigie della superba et bella città di Panormo così sin hoggi detta.*" We are much obliged to the Cretan historian for taking this step out of his way. The MS. No. 624. in this Correr Collection, is a duplicate of the same work. I may add that POCOCKE, (Vol. II. Part II. p. 258.) following an old map, had rightly placed this site west of the cape of the Holy Cross, and distant about eight miles from the village of Margarítes. We must not suppose from Cornaro's phrase, "le vestigie della bella et superba città di Panormo," that the remains are very considerable. I find them mentioned by CORONELLI, Isolario, &c. No. 58. "Panormo di cui si veggono tuttavia *poche vestigie*, sul promontorio dello stesso nome vicino al castello Milopotamo."

[41] Dr CRAMER, Description of ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 394.

[42] HOECK's Kreta, Vol. I. p. 394.

[43] Who, commencing with Phalasarna, enumerates all the principal cities of the northern coast in the order in which we have already seen most of them to have been situated.

[44] The conjecture would hardly have required a notice, had it only been made by OLIVIER, Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman, Tom. II. p. 270.

north side of a valley bounded by lofty mountains, for nearly two miles, and then turn to our left and cross the ridge. A descent of about twenty minutes brings us to a river: we follow its southern bank nearly a mile, and then cross it and again begin to ascend. As sunset approaches, and we mount higher and higher above the level of the sea, we find the cold become very piercing. We soon see snow scattered in patches over all the mountains about us: at length we reach the lofty level at which the village where we mean to rest for the night is situated. For about a mile our path traverses vineyards, all of which are partially covered with snow. Just before sunset we arrived, almost frozen, at the village of Goniés, and were soon provided with an extremely wretched lodging in the hut of the Proestós.

Goniés is the first place which I have seen in Crete, that can almost be said to possess no olive-trees: there are only about 150 roots of them in its whole district. As in a village which has no vineyards, we hardly ever obtain wine, so there was actually no oil to be found in this miserable hamlet.

Snow was lying in patches on the ground at Goniés[45], and some women were greatly surprised at seeing us come "to the snow", as they called it[46]. Aware that snow is almost unknown near the coasts and in the plains of Crete, the only distant regions with which they have any acquaintance, they were quite astonished to learn that I was familiar with it in my native land, and that I had often seen it there, even without going up "into the mountains."

The extreme cold, which penetrated through the hut of the Proestós, could only be kept off by a wood-fire;

[45] The cold which prevails in the mountains of Crete is dwelt on by THEODOSIUS DIACONUS, Acroasis IV. 4.

Χειμῶνι πολλῷ καὶ κρυμοῖς ἀνενδότοις—
πληγέντες ὁρμῇ καὶ βολῇ τῇ τοῦ κρύους—
ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ὥρμησαν.

[46] Ἤλθατε στὸ χιόνι.

the smoke of which almost stifled and blinded us, since the cottage was built, in the common fashion, without a chimney. The whole night was spent most uncomfortably, and I was glad to rise, with the very dawn, in order to proceed to Megálo-Kástron.

COIN OF TYLISSOS.

CHAPTER IX.

GONIES TO TYLISSO, THE SITE OF TYLISSOS. THE CRETAN IBEX, OR WILD-GOAT, AND THE DICTAMNON. FOUNTAIN OF SELVILI. SONG ON THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN THEODHOROS. ARRIVAL AT MEGALO-KASTRON. EUROPEAN CONSULATES, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN. THE BRITISH FLAG INSULTED BY A PASHA OF KHANIA.

February 27.

AFTER I left Goniés, the country afforded but few signs of productiveness for miles, except some scattered olive and carob trees in the immediate neighbourhood of the village. After a descent of about half an hour, we began to follow the river, and continued our course, near its bank, for two miles: we then commenced the ascent of a range of rocky mountains, and, from their summit, obtained a view of the plain of Megálo-Kástron, the chief city of the island; the solid walls and lofty minarets of which we at the same time discerned. A somewhat tedious descent brought us to the village of Týlisso[1], where although I heard of neither coins nor other antiquities, yet I felt little or no doubt that I was standing on the site of the ancient Tylissos.

[1] Εἰς τὴν Τύλισσο.

Unfortunately the passage of Pliny, in which Tylissos is mentioned, proves nothing whatever as to its position; but the supposition that it was here, is confirmed by an examination of its ancient coins. On their reverse is represented a youth holding, in his right hand, the head of an ibex, or wild-goat[2], as the animal was called by the ancients, and in his left a bow. Now this village is at the foot of a lofty range of mountains, and wild-goats are still found in its neighbourhood. It appears that the island abounded in these animals in ancient times[3], and it is no where mentioned that they were peculiar to any one part of it. Doubtless the same rugged lofty mountain summits as they now frequent, and those alone, have always been their haunts; so that it is not likely that the types in question should occur, except in the coins of cities near Mount Ida, the White Mountains, and perhaps Lyttos. We are here at the foot of the north-eastern slopes of the Ida range, and Belon, who saw many of these animals in Crete, says that in *this part* of the island they ran "in troops[4]." Moreover this mountain gave an epithet to Artemis[5], and it is the dittany and the wild-goats of Mount Ida, rather than of any other part of the island, that both ancient and modern poets have celebrated in their verses. It will suffice to mention Virgil[6] and

[2] The animal is called a bouquetin by Buffon, and by French writers. I shall have to speak of it again when I penetrate into Sfakiá.

[3] SOLINUS, c. XVII. Ager Creticus silvestrium caprarum copiosus est.

[4] BELON, Singularitez etc. f. 17. After speaking of the western ranges of Mount Ida, he adds: "Il y a grãd nombre de Boucs sauuages qu'on voit en troupeaux par la susdicte mõtagne."

[5] JULIUS POLLUX, v. 13. Ἡ δὲ Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρα, καὶ κυνηγέτις, καὶ φιλόθηρος, καὶ ὀρεία, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, καὶ Ἰδαία, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴδης.

[6] VIRGIL, Aen. XII. 412.

> Dictamnum genetrix Cretaea carpit ab Ida
> Puberibus caulem foliis et flore comantem
> Purpureo: non illa feris incognita capris
> Gramina, cum tergo volucres haesere sagittae.

MEURSIUS, Creta, pp. 97, 110, 111. has collected the principal passages of ancient writers on the subject of this medicinal effect of the plant on the wounded wild-goat: among them are two of Plutarch, and others of Cicero, Pliny,

Tasso: in the Gerusalemme Liberata of the latter, Godfrey is wounded, and the Angel, (XI. 72.)

Al duolo indegno
Mosso di lui, colse dittamo in Ida—
E ben mastra Natura alle montane
Capre n' insegna la virtù celata,
Qualor vengon percosse, e lor rimane
Nel fianco affissa la saetta alata.

It is true that the very types of the coins of Tylissos, which have been mentioned, led the most distinguished numismatist of the last century, to fix its situation somewhere between Cydonia and Elyros, the bow being very common on the coins of the one, and the wild-goat's head on those of the other of those two cities[7]: and Professor Hoeck, adopting the idea of Eckhel, which, in fact, would have been far from unsatisfactory had I not found this village which preserves the ancient city's name, has pointed out Therisso[8] as its probable site, a place situated on the lower ridges of the White

Pliny, Theophrastus, Antigonus Carystius, Dioscorides, Aelian, and other authors. A passage of ARISTOTLE, Hist. Animal. IX. 6. Vol. I. p. 612. ed. Bekk. has escaped his notice: Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων τῶν τετραπόδων ποιεῖ πρὸς βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς φρονίμως, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ φασὶ τὰς αἴγας τὰς ἀγρίας, ὅταν τοξευθῶσι, ζητεῖν τὸ δίκταμνον· δοκεῖ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκβλητικὸν εἶναι τῶν τοξευμάτων ἐν τῷ σώματι.

[7] ECKHEL, Numi Veteres Anecdoti, pp. 156—158. Doctrina Numorum Veterum, Part. I. Vol. II. p. 321. ECKHEL, l. c. says, in speaking of another coin of this city, "Gubernaculum, quod in area numi Pelleriniani visitur, forte maritimam fuisse urbem denotat." This village Týlisso is at no great distance from the sea: the hunter with his bow and the ibex's head, as well as similar types on another coin, (MIONNET, Tom. II. p. 300.) more than compensate for the presence of a gubernaculum on one coin. Again, in PLINY'S notice of Tylissos, (N. H. IV. 20.) it is mentioned as an inland town. TORRES Y RIBERA, Periplus Cretae, Cap. XXIX. p. 324. (a work which I have in vain endeavoured to find in some of our principal public libraries in England, and have only, at last, procured in the sale of the late Mr Boettiger's books at Dresden, after the preceding sheets had all been printed,) adopts Eckhel's suggestion, and places Tylissos on the south coast, near the western extremity of the island, in the neighbourhood of the modern Sélino-Kastéli.

[8] It may be observed that the etymology of the two names Thériso and Týlisso, is totally distinct, and it is difficult to see how sounds so different could be confounded.

Mountains, and not far from the sites of Cydonia and Elyros.

A citizen of Tylissos seems to be mentioned in an ancient inscription[9], where other Cretans are also spoken of as having received, in Corcyra, certain districts for vineyards, purchased for them as proxeni by the city.

Týlissos is now reduced to about twenty-five houses, a fourth of its size before the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, and is surrounded by carob-trees and olives, as well as by some vineyards. The rock about it is nearly as full of imbedded shells as that of Malta, or of the south-east of Italy. The day is delightful, and we can hardly believe ourselves within a dozen miles of the cold and snow of yesterday.

After leaving Týlissos we passed a ruined khan, which used formerly to afford good accommodation, and soon arrived at a copious and rather picturesque fountain: here I halted, and listened to a Cretan song, and to some of the innumerable stories, respecting the events of the war, which it seems that Maniás knows for every part of the island. The minuteness of his details, and their invariable agreement with all that I learn from other quarters, prove him to have been an observant actor in the scenes which he describes.

The song which exercised the vocal powers of the Sfakian Captain, while my artist was making a sketch of the fountain of Selvilí, celebrates the heroism and ill-fortunes of the Chieftain Theódhoros, who, during the early part of the Christian revolt in Crete, was arkhegós of the two districts of Mylopótamo and Malevísi. His troops were stationed at Sárko and Hághio

[9] MURATORI, Nov. Thesaur. Vet. Inscrip. Tom. II. p. 588. and MUSTOXIDI, Illustrat. Corciresi, Tom. II. p. 65. The words which seem to relate to the Tylissian are

ΕΡΜΩΝΙ ΤΥΛΕΣΙΩΙ ΑΝΠΕΛΩΝ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΛΕ ΘΡΙΑΝ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΠΕΔΙΩΙ.

The Tylissian's name occurs between those of a Cnossian and an Apteraean; his city, if here, was situated between Cnossos and Aptera.

Mýro: he had with him but few of his fellow Sfakians, having dispatched his brother Russákes, with a detachment, to aid the Greeks of Lassíthi, before he came down towards the plain of Megálo-Kástron. On descending to this fountain of Selvilí, and to the village of Gázi, he fell in with the Mohammedan forces, which were greatly superior in number to his own. The engagement lasted from three hours after sunrise till two hours before sunset. The Christian leader wore a very rich dress, and had most splendid arms: thus he was recognized, and, at length, perished in a furious charge made by the Arnaut cavalry. The Cretan song, which Maniás sings, commences with an account of the splendour and value of Theódhoros's arms, and of the beauty of his person, and then proceeds:

Ὁ Κουμαντάτης τοῦ 'στειλε
μίαν διαταγὴν γραμμένην
Τοῦρκος νὰ μὴ 'πομείνῃ πλέον
'ς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην·

ἡ μάνα[10] του τὸν ἐμήνυσε
καρὰ νὰ πολεμήσῃ,
τῶν 'Αρναούτων τἄρογα
κανένα μὴν ἀφήσῃ.

* * *

στὸ Σερβιλὶ κατέβηκε
καὶ 'στασε τὰ τζαντήρια,
στὸ Γάζι ἐκατέβηκε
κ' ἔπαιξαν τὰ παιγνίδια.

* * *

[10] Μάνα. On μάνα see DU CANGE, Glossarium, 861.
Ἔχασε μάνα τὸ παιδὶ καὶ τὸ παιδὶ τὴν μάνα.
On the older word μάμμη, (in English, *mamma*,) consult PHOTIUS, Lex. p. 245. DU CANGE, Glossarium, 859. PHRYNICHUS, p. 135. and LOBECK.

πορρούς Τούρκους ἐσκότωσεν
ὁ φοβεροαγιασμένος
μὰ ἤτονι ἡ Τουρκιά πολλή,
κ' ἐκεῖνος κουριασμένος.

* * *

"οἱ Μυλοποταμίται μᾶς,
πορροὶ 'ναι σὰν τὰ δάση,
ὁλημερινοὺς νὰ τζὴ ἀπαντᾶς
φεύγουνι ὡσὰ βραδιάση.

καιεμένοι πάρτα 'Ανοιανοί,
κ' ἔτι οἱ Χρουσανιώται,
ἀποῦ πολεμᾶτε μὲ τὴν Τουρκιά
ὡσὰν κ' οἱ Λακιώται[11]."

"ὤφου καιεμένε μου ἀδερφέ,
διατὶ νὰ σ' ἀποβγάρω;
νὰ μὴ βοηθήξῃς ἐπαδὰ
νὰ πάρω ἕνα ζάρο;

ὤφου καιεμένε μοῦ 'δερφέ,
νὰ ἤθελες τὸ κατέχει
πῶς σήμερον ἐγὼ 'σκοτώθηκα·
χαμπέρι[12] ἐσὺ δὲν τὸ ἔχεις!

* * *

χαιρετᾶτε μοῦ τζὴ Σφακιανοὺς
κ' ὅρα τὰ παλλικάρια
και 'πὲ τζὴ ὅπως μου 'κάμασιν
οἱ 'Αρναοῦται μάγια."

[11] The Lakiótes were celebrated for their courage throughout the war: the brave mountaineers of the district between 'Axos and Týlissos are therefore compared with the Lakiótes, while they are distinguished from the less warlike inhabitants of the plains of Mylopótamo.

[12] The Turkish خبر khabér.

To him our Commandante did
A written order give,
That he permit no Musulman
In Grecia's world to live:

His mother too had bidden him
A warrior's part to play,
Nor let a single Arnaut steed
Escape from out the fray.

* * *

To Selvilí he did descend
And there his tents deployed;
And, further onward, Gázi's sports
His warriors all enjoyed.

* * *

The warlike Champion of the Cross
Full many a Moslem slew:
But still the Moslem host was strong,
While he quite wearied grew.

* * *

"Our men of Mylopótamo,
Though dense as groves they be,
When they're resisted all the day
With evening's sun will flee.

Alas, ill-fated Anoians,
And ye brave Khrusaniótes,
Who all contend with Moslem foes,
E'en like the Lakiótes!"

"Alas! alas! my brother dear,
Why sent I thee away?
Thy force, if here, had well secured
A safe retreat from th' fray.

Alas! alas! my brother dear,
I would that thou could'st learn
The fatal news of this day's fight,
My death that thou must mourn!

* * *

Salute from me the Sfakians,
And each brave pallikár,
And tell them how I've vanquish'd been
In this our Arnaut war."

As soon as a sketch of the fountain was made, and Maniás's song and stories were ended, we recommenced our journey, and, after finishing what little there remained of descent, arrived at the bridge of Gázi, the stream under which is considerable: we passed it, and afterwards, three or four other bridges, over streams which all discharge themselves into the sea a little below the places where we crossed them. In rather more than an hour from the time of our leaving the fountain, we reached the gate of Megálo-Kástron, and the usual external adjunct of a large Mohammedan town, an extensive burial ground. On entering within the walls of the city, I saw that I was once more in Turkey: and, the bazárs, though filled with fewer costly articles of eastern luxury, are still so exclusively Turkish in their character as to recall to mind those of Smyrna and Constantinople.

I obtained an apartment in the house of Dhemétrio, the Pashá's Greek secretary. My host expressed great delight at receiving in his dwelling an Englishman, who

had studied "the Hellenic language[13]". The moment he found that I had read Homer, he asked me if I was also acquainted with Synesius[14].

After establishing myself in these quarters, I proceeded to visit the consular representatives of Great Britain and France. Monsieur Fabreguette had given me a letter of introduction to Monsieur Godebout, the French Consular Agent, who seems to be the person of most consideration among the so-called Frank population of this city. His house is spacious, and is fitted up with some of the ordinary comforts and luxuries of civilized Europe. I declined, however, to accept of his proffered hospitality, since I had obtained a very comfortable apartment with Dhemétrio, and had made arrangements for being duly supplied with dinner, &c. from a kind of locanda[15] in the city. On a subsequent occasion I became M. Godebout's guest.

I need hardly say that the French agent[16] is a native of the country which he represents here. The English agent, on the contrary, is a Levantine, who was born at Malta, has passed many years of his life as a slave in Barbary; and, like his principal in Khaniá, is totally unacquainted with English. He is, however, a good-natured old man, and knows enough Italian and Greek to be able to maintain a conversation in either of those languages.

[13] Τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον.

[14] Before I left Megálo-Kástron I found out the link which united Homer and Synesius in the mind of my host: he possessed a small volume, probably his only Hellenic book, containing extracts from those two authors.

[15] The ξενοδοχεῖον, which has lately been restored, after an absence of many centuries, to Nauplia and Athens, has not yet found its way into Crete.

[16] M. Godebout was appointed Vice-Consul while I remained in the island. No Consul or Vice-Consul of France, who receives a salary from his own nation, is allowed to occupy himself with commerce: he is thus under no inducement to make his flag promote his own personal interests, to the prejudice of other merchants. This is an excellent regulation, and one which every one, who knows the East, would be glad to see adopted by other nations.

It is impossible not to regret the state of the Consular establishment of Great Britain throughout the East; the whole of it requires a very careful revision; and does not seem, at any time, to have occupied much of the attention of the Foreign Office. We have been represented, in most of the small ports of the Turkish empire, for the last century, by persons, who, to use the strong language of a naval officer, possess *none* of the requisite qualities of a consul, "are without independence of character, and are really a disgrace to our flag[17]".

I have already mentioned the vain attempts made at Khaniá, under the old Turkish government of Crete, by persons called the representatives of Great Britain, to obtain the right of displaying above their dwellings, the ensign of the country which protected them[18]. I learn, from the archives of the French consulate at Khaniá, that Great Britain once possessed this privilege, under the old regime, in Crete; but her representative then, as now, was not an Englishman, and she lost her flag in the following manner.

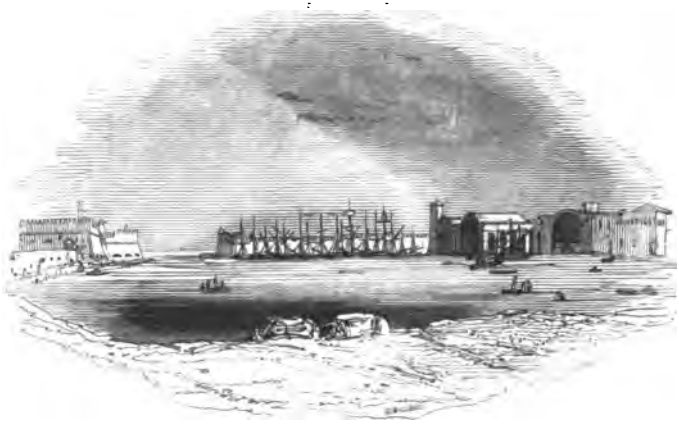
In 1765 the British consul was actually a *baratary* of the Sublime Porte. The attention, not of the Cabinet in Downing Street, but of the Divan at Constantinople, was drawn to the evils resulting from the occupation of such situations by such most unbecoming and improper persons. A hatí-sheríf of the Sultan forbade all "raýa-consuls" any longer to exercise their consular functions, and required that they should in future pay the kharatj, like the other Christian subjects of the Porte. When the Imperial order arrived in Crete, the raýa who then

[17] BEAUFORT, Karamania, p. 88.

[18] The following is an extract from an official letter of the French Consul, at Khaniá, to his Government, dated the 31st of March, 1826. "Le Consul de France est le seul qui batte pavillon sur sa maison: les autres Consuls ont, jusqu'à ce moment, fait en vain des démarches pour obtenir le même privilège. Les autorités et les habitans de la Canée le leur ont refusé en prétendant que, de tems immemoriel, on n'avait vu dans cette ville que le pavillon de France, et que lui seul pouvait être arboré."

held the office of "Consul of His Britannic Majesty", at Khaniá, was dragged before the Pashá of that city, and a party of the Pashá's servants, with a few Turkish sailors, were sent to the British Consulate, to pull down and trample under foot our national ensign[19].

[19] CORRESPONDANCE DU CONSUL DE FRANCE, le 27 Fevrier 1765. The Consul of France had been summoned on the 26th to attend a Divan to hear read a hatí-sherif du Grand Seigneur, concernant les Consuls nationaux. Its import was "que les Consulats des nations étrangères et franques, ne soyent pas exercés *par des Consuls rayats:* de destituer ceux qui en cette qualité en font les fonctions: de retirer tous les *barats* et fermans qui ont été delivrés par les predecesseurs de Sa Hautesse: de faire payer *carach* à ceux qui en sont munis." Now for the special proceedings with respect to the British Consul, who is described as being moreover "Chargé des Affaires du Grand Duc de Toscane, de la Republique Serenissime de Venise, et de leurs Hautes Puissances Seigneurs les Etats Generaux de Hollande." He made a protest, to the following effect, at the French Consulate, when the affair was ended: that the Pasha's emissaries "lui auroient ordonné, de la part du dit Pacha, de se rendre au palais, et de porter avec lui le barat et autres pieces du Grand Seigneur, qui l'autorisoient dans l'exercise des fonctions de Consul de S. M. B. et de l'agence des affaires des autres nations susmentionnées." The orders of his unceremonious visitors were to take him bodily to the Pashá: "de l'amener, et de l'y faire porter s'il étoit necessaire." He was taken to the Pashá's palace: was ordered to stand, almost at the very door of the Pashá's apartment: was addressed "Raýa!" by the Pashá: and heard read a special order of the Sultan, to the Pashá, "de ne plus permettre au dit Sieur Consul d'Angleterre de battre et arborer, sur la terrasse de sa maison, le pavillon de Sa Majesté Britannique." On the poor baratary's return to his Consulate, he saw arrive "plusieurs gens du palais, et des matelots, aux fins d'abattre le mât qui servoit etc." Their object was speedily accomplished.



THE PORT OF MEGALO-KASTRON.

CHAPTER X.

VISIT TO MUSTAFA-PASHA. CHANGE IN THE TREATMENT OF EUROPEANS BY MOHAMMEDANS OF RANK. OSMAN-BEY. MY HOST DHEMETRIO. VENETIAN REMAINS. CATHEDRAL OF ST TITUS. THE SAINT'S SKULL COMPARED WITH THE HEAD OF ORPHEUS. OTHER SUPERSTITIONS, BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN. NAMES OF MOSQUES SOMETIMES DERIVED FROM CHRISTIAN SAINTS. ANCIENT AND MODERN FEMALE DRESS IN THESE COUNTRIES. ORIENTAL AND ANCIENT SECLUSION OF WOMEN. THE HOT BATH. ANCIENT AND MODERN CLEANLINESS.

February 28.

On visiting his Excellency Mustafá-pashá, the Seraskier of the island, about nine o'clock this morning, I was accompanied by Monsieur Godebout, and also by the English consular agent. We found the band of one of the Arab regiments, now quartered in the city, playing in the anteroom. The Pashá, who

had been forewarned of my visit, rose and descended from his divan, advancing a few steps to meet me, as I entered his apartment. While coffee and pipes were handed round, we conversed on various topics: the Pashá, at first, spoke Turkish, through the medium of a Jewish dragoman; but, after a while, something was said in Greek, from which he found out, equally as it seemed to his surprise and pleasure, that I was acquainted with that language, and immediately began to converse with me in it. Thus all my intercourse with Mustafá-pashá was released from the bonds which usually fetter the conversation of European travellers with men of rank in Turkey. Little can indeed be the communication where every word that is said on either side must pass through the mouth of an illiterate Jew before it can be understood by the other party.

Mustafá-pashá, like his master the Viceroy of Egypt, is a native of Cavallo or its neighbourhood: he is now probably thirty-five years of age, and has become acquainted with Greek since his residence in Crete. Most of the members of his kharém, including the two mothers of his children, are Greek women: and, his daily intercourse with them alone would account for his acquaintance with their language. I was astonished to discover, that, although he reads Turkish and Arabic, he has not thought it worth while to learn the *written* Greek character: and thus, while he speaks the language of the island almost with the fluency of a native, he cannot read even the superscription of a letter[1].

Mustafá-pashá inquired after "the Admiral Malcolm," whom I had left at Malta, and with whom the events of the war here during Sir Pulteney's command in the Mediterranean, some time after the battle of Navarino, rendered him personally acquainted. As the Pashá had descended from his divan on my entering

[1] The Pashá, whom I used often to see, once asked me to read to him the directions of several letters, one of which was in French, another in Greek, and a third in Armenian: they were all equally illegible to him.

the room, so he did also on my rising to take leave: and, on this latter occasion, he accompanied me several steps towards the door of the apartment; an honour which probably no European ever received, from a Turk of his rank, until within the last half century. Little more than a hundred years ago, a Pashá of Crete remained seated on his divan, even when the ambassador of France at the Sublime Porte took leave of him at the close of a visit of ceremony[2].

From the hall of audience of the Pashá I went to see Osmán-bey, a general officer, who is governor of the city and of all the parts of the island which are considered as belonging to it[3]. I found that he speaks French with tolerable fluency: and thus with him, as with the Governor-General, no interpreter was needed. Monsieur Godebout is convinced that Osmán-bey is far the most intelligent person in authority in the whole island. The formation of this opinion has in all probability been aided, if not wholly produced, by the fact that M. Godebout can converse with the General in French. M. Godebout tells me that when his interpreter is the organ of communication between himself and Mustafá-pashá, or the President of the Council, he sometimes looks to the person with whom the Jew enables him to converse, expecting a smile, and sees a grave countenance. I myself discovered that the interpreters here never even try to *translate* the *words* used: they give what they suppose to be the sense of a whole sentence, and since they frequently misunderstand what is said, they equally falsify both the form and substance of what they ought to translate.

[2] Louis Chevalier, M. S. Voyage du Levant, (quoted above, p. 9.) p. 108. "Le Pacha accepta cet offre avec bien du plaisir, et luy marqua toute sa reconnaissance. Monsieur l'Ambassadeur luy fit aussi present d'une monstre, et un moment après prit congé de luy, et se leva. *Le Pacha ne se leva point, et luy fit seulement une inclination de la teste.*"

[3] All Τὰ Καστρινά, they include *all* the parts to the east of the Kastron, and some distance to the west.

After these visits to the Pashá and Osmán-bey, I returned to my apartment in the house of Dhemétrio. My host's late uncle was bishop of Cnossos, and thus the intelligent Greek is naturally full of information on the temporal affairs of the church in Crete. I learn from him the extent of each Episcopal see, and the amount of revenues, both of the bishops and the inferior clergy. On the antiquities of the island, Dhemétrio's knowledge is, as might be expected, much less extensive: he knows only of some ancient remains called Mákro-teíkho, in the immediate neighbourhood of this city, and of "the sepulchre of Zeus" on Mount Júktas.

Dhemétrio was a widower when he married his present youthful and pretty wife: she is a native of Goniés, the village at which I slept the night before last.

March 1.

The most considerable of the Venetian remains, at Megálo-Kástron, next to the massive walls by which the city is surrounded, and the arches seen here, as at Khaniá, near the port, are those of a large building, which I suppose to have been the cathedral church of the Latin Archbishop. It has been totally neglected ever since the Venetians lost the city, and is now in a state of great dilapidation. This cathedral was dedicated to Saint Titus, the peculiar patron of his native island[4].

The Greeks of Crete, considering St Mark as the protector of their foreign lords, used themselves to raise the standard of St Titus, whenever they rebelled against the Most Serene Republic. This was also done by the Venetian colonists, when they rose against their mother country, and united themselves with the Greeks of the island[5]. According to an old chronicler as soon as

[4] See above, p. 6.

[5] CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. II. p. 318.

Lucchino dal Vermo[6] obtained, at the head of the Venetian forces, a great victory over the rebels, "he entered into the city of Candia, on the tenth of May 1364, put to death and destroyed many of the traitors, and took away the ensign of St Titus, replacing it by that of the Evangelist St. Mark, with great festivity and rejoicing[7]."

It was in this cathedral that no less valuable a relique than the head of St Titus was preserved during the Venetian rule. According to the Christian legends of the middle ages, the body of the saint, who had been buried in his own cathedral[8], could never be found after the capture of Gortyna by the Saracens. His head, however, used to be exhibited on certain occasions, and with great solemnity, to the people of Megálo-Kástron[9]. The Latin priests of Candia left not the precious relique within the walls of what, on their departure, became a Mohammedan city; but duly transported the so-called

[6] He was a native of Verona, one of the most distinguished generals of his age, and a personal friend of Francesco Petrarca, who addressed to him a book "De Officio et virtutibus Imperatoriis." He thus concludes his address to him: "Memento hanc ipsam, ad quam tu oppugnandam pergis Insulam, dum ditior olim esset, multoque potentior, a Metello, qui ob id Creticus dictus est, facili domitam incursu, tibique utinam reservatum, eventu simili sit cognomen."

[7] CRONACA VENEZIANA dal principio della città sino al MCCCCX. Codice XVIII. of the Biblioteca Marciana, fol. 97. "E puo a die x del dito messe elli ave la tera liberamente ço fo chandia intrando dentro tajando e olçidando molltij delli traditori chelli trouua e montando in sul palazo elli olçixe Mess. Marcho Gradenigo de Chandia che iera fato so ducha e tollse via la sua insegna de San Titto e messe quella del Vangelista San Marcho chon gran fessta e alegreça." In Codice XX. of the same collection (described in the Catalogo della Biblioteca Marciana, p. 227.) at fol. 87. "Fo morto el suo ducha—e tirada zoxo la so insegna de San Tito e messe quella de San Marcho." Another Chronicler says that they "cut in pieces" Gradenigo, and then sacked the city in honour of Saint Mark, and that afterwards "el fu butado a tera la insegna di San Tito, e fo levado quela di San Marco."

[8] CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. I. p. 194.

[9] CORNELIUS, l. c. p. 195. The very frauds thus practised by the modern priests are those with which the Christian biographer of Constantine reproaches their heathen predecessors: EUSEBIUS, V. C. III. 57. cited above, p. 123.

head of Titus to Venice, where it was deposited in the rich *Reliquiario* of St Mark's church[10].

As the Cretan Christians for many centuries reverenced this head of Titus, though deprived of its body, so their heathen ancestors used annually to honour, by a religious festival, the body of Molos, the well-known father of Meriones[11], though deprived of its head.

The legend told to explain the ancient ceremony, in which the headless statue of a man was thus exhibited, was that after Molos got possession of a nymph's person, without having first obtained her consent, his body was found, but his head had disappeared. Plutarch may well speak of the annual religious commemoration of such an event, as "a strange festival[12]."

There is a church of St Seraphim, at Dobó in Boeotia, in which the skull of the saint is now deposited, as that of Titus was formerly supposed to rest in his cathedral here, and is believed to possess "wondrous power in driving away all kinds of evil[13]." Thus also at the monastery Lávra, on the Holy Mountain, are preserved, with other valuable reliques, the skulls "of several Saints[14]."

St John Lateran's church at Rome possesses the skulls of St Peter and St Paul: they are considered as

[10] A decree of the Venetian Senate, dated the 26th of February, 1669, provides that the Venetians shall have the benefit of a similar annual exhibition: "La testa di San Tito così venerato, e di tanto grido, doverà pur esser decentemente conservata nel Santuario, et esposta annualmente, il giorno dello stesso Santo, sopra l'altar Maggiore, all' adorazione."

[11] HOMER, IL. x. 269. xiii. 249. DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 79.

[12] PLUTARCH, de orac. defect. p. 417. e. *Ἔνιοι δὲ τοὐναντίον, ὥσπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ χρόνον συχνὸν διάγων ἔγνων ἀτοπόν τινα τελουμένην ἑορτήν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ εἴδωλον ἀνδρὸς ἀκέφαλον ἀναδεικνύουσι, καὶ λέγουσιν, ὡς οὗτος ἦν Μόλος ὁ Μηριόνου πατήρ, νύμφῃ δὲ πρὸς βίαν συγγενόμενος, ἀκέφαλος εὑρεθείη.*

[13] LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. II. p. 517, who adds: "The holy relic has just been sent for to Thebes, to put a stop to an epidemic disorder which has made its appearance in that town."

[14] LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. III. p. 129. In addition to the skulls were "the hand of St Chrysostom, and the foot of St Cerycus, who died a martyr at three years of age."

its most sacred reliques, although the church also contains a shirt, which is said to have been made for Christ by the Virgin herself.

The alleged removal of the head of Titus, from the ruins of Gortyna to the chief city of the island, and its subsequent occasional exhibitions to the gaze of a credulous multitude, as well as the miracles said to be now performed by the skull of St Seraphim, shrink into events of relative insignificance, when compared with some of the absurdities which were believed in by the ancient heathens.

The well-known and miraculous transfer of the head of Orpheus[15]—

> Whose goary visage down the stream was sent,
> Down the swift Hebrus, to the Lesbian shore—

might have made the propagators of the Christian legend blush for their own want of proficiency in their craft, lament the excess of heathen credulity over even that of their own day, and envy the priests of ancient Greece those profitable frauds which they were able constantly to practise. The head of Orpheus did not remain, like that of the Christian saint, a mere inanimate object of respect and adoration; but used, from time to time, like the *teraphim* of Jewish idolaters[16], *to utter oracles*[17];

[15] PHANOCLES, p. 196. ed. Bach.

> Τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κεφαλὴν χαλκῷ τάμον, αὐτίκα δ' αὐτὴν
> εἰς ἅλα Θρηϊκίην ῥίψαν ὁμοῦ χέλυϊ—
> τὰς δ' ἱερῇ Λέσβῳ πολίη ἐπέκελσε θάλασσα.

LUCIAN, adv. Indoct. 11. Tom. III. p. 109. ed. Hemst. Ὅτε τὸν Ὀρφέα διεσπάσαντο αἱ Θρᾷτται, φασί, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ σὺν τῇ λύρᾳ εἰς τὸν Ἕβρον ἐμπεσοῦσαν ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς τὸν μέλανα πόντον, καὶ ἐπικλεῖν γε τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ λύρᾳ—καὶ οὕτω μετ' ᾠδῆς προσενεχθῆναι τῇ Λέσβῳ. See also EUSTATHIUS, on Dionysius Periegetes, v. 536. In OVID, Met. XI. 50. foll. the head and lyre perform the same voyage down the Hebrus,

> Jamque mare invectae fluvium populare relinquunt,
> Et Methymnaeae potiuntur litore Lesbi.

[16] ZECHARIAH, X. 2. Compare GENESIS, XXXI. 19. BOHLEN, p. 306. and GEUSIUS, Victimae Humanae, P. I. p. 323.

[17] PHILOSTRATUS, Heroica, p. 128. Boisson. Ἡ κεφαλὴ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον, ἐς Λέσβον κατασχοῦσα, ῥῆγμα τῆς Λέσβου ᾠκησε, καὶ

while his body was separated from it by the wide sea which intervenes between Lesbos and Thrace. At length, its responses became so celebrated, that the shrines, even of the Gryneian, the Clarian, and the Pythian Apollo, were all deserted[18].

A rich harvest of similar reliques is found in the field of ancient Pagan superstition, where their growth was sedulously cultivated by the priestcraft of the day. As the body of Titus was supposed to protect Gortyna, until the Mohammedans broke the imaginary spell in the ninth century, so it was declared, in more ancient times, that the city which possessed the corpse of Alexander would never be conquered[19]: so Zoroaster assured the Persians that their kingdom would last as long as they guarded his bones[20]: and so also the dead body of Oedipus, who, according to Homer[21], was buried at Thebes, was supposed by the Athenian Tragic writers[22] to have been interred at a borough of Attica, and thus to protect their country: and in later ages the bones of the parricide king were believed to have been transferred to Athens itself, where they became an object of religious worship and sacrifice, and were regarded as a defence of the city against invading foes[23].

καὶ ἐν κοιλῃ τῇ γῇ ἐχρησμῴδει· ὅθεν ἐχρῶντο τότε αὐτῇ τὰ μαντικὰ Λέσβιοί τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ξύμπαν Αἰολικόν, καὶ Ἴωνες Αἰολεῦσι πρόσοικοι. Compare p. 154. and Boissonade, p. 539.

[18] PHILOSTRATUS, Life of Apollonius, L. IV. c. 14. p. 151. Παρῆλθε καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἄδυτον, προσορμισάμενος τῇ Λέσβῳ—μήτε ἐς Γρύνειον ἐφοίτων ἔτι ὑπὲρ χρησμῶν ἄνθρωποι, μήτε ἐς Κλάρον, μήτ' ἔνθα ὁ τρίπους ὁ Ἀπόλλωνος, Ὀρφεὺς δὲ ἔχρα μόνος. See also ANTIGONUS CARYSTIUS, c. V. and NICLAS and BECKMANN, p. 10.

[19] AELIAN, V. H. XII. 64. Πανευδαίμων τε ἔσται καὶ ἀπόρθητος δι' αἰῶνος.

[20] CHRONICON PASCHALE, p. 37. c. and LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 280.

[21] HOMER, Il. XXIII. 679.

[22] SOPHOCLES, Oed. C. 91. VALCKENAER, on Eurip. Phoen. p. 568. and LOBECK, l. c.

[23] PAUSANIAS, I. p. 69. VALERIUS MAXIMUS, V. 3. 3. LOBECK, l. c. WORDSWORTH, Athens and Attica, p. 237. Professor LOBECK, l. c. p. 281, gives many other instances of dead bodies which thus protected the countries in which they were interred.

Sometimes the preservation of a certain part of a *living* body was supposed to be an equally efficacious talisman to defend a country. An instance of this is afforded by the ancient Cretan legend[24] of Minos's war with Megara, and of the purple lock which Scylla cut off from the head of her sleeping father,

> Cui roseus medio fulgebat vertice crinis:
> Cujus quam servata diu natura fuisset,
> Tam patriam incolumem Nisi, regnumque futurum,
> Concordes stabili firmarunt numine Parcae.

According to Aeschylus[25], Scylla had received from Minos a present of a splendid Cretan necklace, but the more common tradition describes her as having fallen in love with the Cnossian monarch[26].

Among the mosques of Megálo-Kástron is one called after Saint Catherine, its name being Haghía-Katerína-djamé. I suppose she must have been the saint to whom the building was dedicated before it received the accession of its minaret. The Mohammedans seem never to have had any reluctance to adopt the names of Greek saints, even when given to places of religious worship. Thus the Saint Sophia's church of the Christian has become the Haghía-Sophía-djamé of the Moslem[27]. In Crete many villages continue to be

[24] It was rejected by the Megarians: see PAUSANIAS, I. p. 96. and HEYNE, on Apollod. p. 882.

[25] AESCHYLUS, Choeph. 613.

> Ἄλλαν δεῖ τιν' ἐν λόγοις στυγεῖν
> φοινίαν Σκύλλαν,
> ἅτ' ἐχθρῶν ὕπερ φῶτ' ἀπώλεσεν φίλον, Κρητικοῖς
> χρυσεοδμήτοισιν ὅρμοις πιθήσασα δώροισι Μίνω,
> Νῖσον ἀθανάτας τριχὸς νοσφίσασ' ἀπροβούλως.

[26] PROPERTIUS, III. 17. 21.

> Tuque o Minoa venumdata, Scylla, figura,
> Tondens purpurea regna paterna coma.

OVID, Met. VIII. 90.

> Suasit amor facinus, proles ego regia Nisi—
> Praemia nulla peto nisi te.

[27] Though the vulgar regard Haghía Sophía as a saint, yet the word properly denotes a mere abstraction, the Holy Wisdom of the Deity: see above, p. 142. The well-known description of Wisdom, in PROVERBS, VIII. 22—31, is quoted by VON BOHLEN, Das alte Indien, Vol. I. p. 160.

called by the names of well-known Christian saints, even now that all their inhabitants have become Mohammedans: thus St Dionysius, St George, St John, and many other members of the celestial hierarchy, including even the Panaghía, no longer find a single worshipper within the places which were called by their names, and for many centuries were supposed to be under their especial protection.

There is scarcely any perceptible difference, to an eye neither practised nor skilful in observing articles of female apparel, between the dresses of Greek and Turkish ladies in this city. The Christian fair one conceals her charms from every eye, when she once leaves the interior of her husband's house, as completely as any of her Mohammedan neighbours. Before I was aware of this *Greek* concealment of the face, I was not a little surprised to find myself graciously regarded by a pair of eyes belonging, as I supposed, to some unknown Turkish lady, but which, as I afterwards found out, were those of my hostess. Her husband says that he thinks the custom even still more proper for a Greek's wife than for a Turk's; for if she did not observe it, she might attract the gaze of some true believer.

Although the supposition, that the seclusion of Greek women has arisen from an imitation of Turkish manners, is generally received; it may, I think, be shewn to be totally erroneous. The general practice of the ancient Greeks is well known[28]: and, if we find the modern seclusion observed long before the Turkish conquest, we must assign it to its ancient source; and not to the

[28] MENANDER, p. 87. Meinek.

Τοὺς τῆς γαμετῆς ὅρους ὑπερβαίνεις, γύναι,
τὴν αὐλίαν· πέρας γὰρ αὔλιος θύρα
ἐλευθέρᾳ γυναικὶ νενόμιστ' οἰκίας.

Compare TOUP, on Suidas, Vol. I. p. 34. WYTTENBACH, on Plutarch, Praecept. Conjug. p. 140. d. (Tom. VI. p. 884.) The *unmarried* women, in the Dorian states, had somewhat more freedom: see MUELLER, Dorier, Vol. II. p. 262. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 519: but even at Sparta married women were veiled; see MUELLER, l. c.

influence of Asiatic manners imported by the Turks. Now there is ample evidence that, while the Venetians were masters of Crete, the Greek women used never to go out of their houses[29] except to perform certain religious ceremonies[30]. The Turks therefore found manners like their own, in this respect at least, on first landing in the island.

The same hereditary custom, derived from ancient times, sufficiently accounts for the similar concealment of Greek women in other parts of Turkey[31]; and for the undoubted fact that the seclusion of the Sfakian women is greater than that of any other Christians in this island.

[29] FOSCARINI, Relatione ec. p. 96. "Le donne non vanno mai di giorno fuori di casa, che non si lassano mai veder."

[30] BELON, Observations etc. fol. 6. "La coustume est que les femmes des Grecs ne se monstrent en public: et toutesfois s'il y a quelque belle femme en la ville on l'on pleure le trepassé elle se sentira moult heureuse d'auoir trouvé l'occasion de monstrer sa beauté, accompaignant les autres par la ville: attendu qu'elles vont en troupe toutes escheuelées et espoitrinées, monstrants aumoins leur belle charnure. En ces entrefaictes les hommes s'y trouvent aussi, ayants aumoins le plaisir de voir celle fois les femmes et filles de leurs voisins bien à leur aise: car de les voir en autre saison, il n'y a pas grand ordre." Compare the account of BUONDELMONTI, in CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. I. p. 91. An English writer, Sandys, who travelled more than two centuries ago, describes the same religious ceremony, observed by the Greeks, in nearly the same terms: "Then the choice and prime women of the city, if the deceased were of note, do assist their obsequies, with bosoms displaid, and their haire disheveled: glad that they have the occasion to manifest their beautie, which at other times is secluded from admirers." SANDYS, Travailes, a Relation of a Journey begun A. D. 1610. p. 65. 5th ed. London 1652.

[31] THEVENOT, Voyages, Tom. I. p. 261. ed. 3ieme Amsterd. 1727. or Voyage de Levant, c. LV., in describing the manners of the Greeks generally, says, "Les filles ne se monstrent point avant que d'être mariées, encore se tiennent-elles cachées long-tems après, ne se laissant pas voir même aux parens: elles ne vont point à l'église de peur d'être vues." Thus in some parts a couple who may have been betrothed when the girl was nine or ten years of age "are denied the privilege of seeing each other till the moment of marriage:" HOLLAND, Travels in Albania, Ch. VIII. p. 154. who was present at a marriage "where the bride and bridegroom had actually never met before." CHANDLER, Travels in Greece, c. XXVI, observes: "The liberty of the fair sex at Athens is almost equally abridged by Turks and Greeks."

The ordinary seclusion of Turkish women, and their veiled and mummy-like appearance, whenever they walk out, have the sanction of a religious command[32], to which they are partly, if not chiefly, owing. The custom of the Greeks, however, comes not from the precepts of St Paul[33], or Tertullian[34], but from the practice of their heathen ancestors: and the description which Dicaearchus has given of the dress of the Theban ladies in his time, when they wore veils which so concealed all the face that *only the eyes* could be seen[35], may serve as a faithful account of the head-dress of all the female population, Moslem and Christian, of the principal city of Crete at the present day.

Khaniá possesses a most indifferent khamám or hot-bath. Those of Megálo-Kástron are comparatively excellent. The hot-baths of ancient Greece used to be frequented by both sexes quite as regularly as they are in modern Turkey[36].

[32] SALE, Koran, The true believers, c. XXIII. "And speak unto the believing women, that they preserve their modesty—and let them throw a veil over their bosoms," &c.

[33] 1 COR. XI. 5—10.: 1 TIM. III. 9.

[34] TERTULLIAN, de veland. Virgin. c. 1. Latine quoque ostendam virgines nostras velari oportere.

[35] DICAEARCHUS, State of Greece, p. 16. ed. Hudson. Τὸ τῶν ἱματίων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κάλυμμα, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥστε προσωπιδίῳ δοκεῖν πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον κατειλῆφθαι. οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ διαφαίνονται μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη τοῦ προσώπου πάντα κατέχεται τοῖς ἱματίοις. The presence of a considerable Frank population, in most of the smaller islands, and their more frequent intercourse with Europeans, may have contributed to Europeanize the manners of their women, but even now at the but little frequented and remote Skyros, "the women live quite retired in the houses, and hide themselves on the approach of a stranger." LEAKE, N. G. III. p. 110.

[36] SIMONIDES, in Aelian, N. A. XVI. c. 24.

Λοῦται δὲ πάσης ἡμέρας ἅπο ῥύπον
δίς, ἄλλοτε τρίς, καὶ μύροις ἀλείφεται.

MENANDER, in ATHENAEUS, IV. p. 166. a.

Καίτοι νέος ποτ' ἐγενόμην κἀγώ, γύναι,
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλούμην πεντάκις τῆς ἡμέρας:

where Le Clerc, (Meineke, p. 128.) refers to ARRIAN'S account of the last days of Alexander, (VII. 25.)

The Turkish ladies seem also to resemble those of ancient Greece in another point: I mean in the extraordinary care which they bestow on their personal cleanliness[37]. The peculiar practice to which I more especially allude, was general among the ladies of ancient Greece, at least with the young and beautiful[38], though not so with older matrons[39]. It has not only been

[37] TOURNEFORT, Voyage, Lettre XIII. Vol. II. p. 94. "Leur propreté est extraordinaire; elles se baignent deux fois la semaine, et ne souffrent pas le moindre poil, ni la moindre crasse, sur leurs corps: tout cela contribue fort à leur santé." The custom of depilation is also observed by the ladies of Persia: see the KITABI KULSUM NANEH, or Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia, translated by Mr Atkinson, Lond. 1832. pp. 17–18.

[38] ARISTOPHANES, Frogs, 517.

Ἠβυλλιῶσαι κἄρτι παρατετιλμέναι.

Compare Lysist. 89. 151. Eccles. 13.

[39] In ARISTOPHANES, Lysist. 825. an aged dame says, boastingly,

Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἂν οὐκ ἴδοις,
καίπερ οὖσης γραός, ὅντ' αὐ-
τὸν κομήτην, ἀλλ' ἀπεψι-
λωμένον τῷ λύχνῳ.

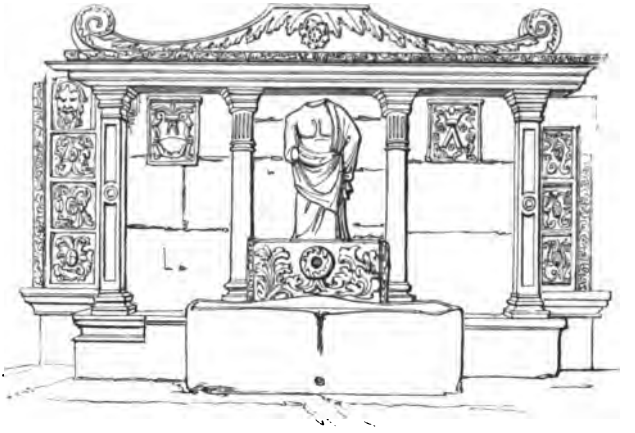
Thesm. 537.

Τέφραν ποθὲν λαβοῦσαι
ταύτης ἀποψιλώσομεν τὸν χοῖρον, ἵνα διδαχθῇ
γυνὴ γυναῖκας οὖσα μὴ κακῶς λέγειν τὸ λοιπόν:

where the poet represents Mnesilochus as an old woman (v. 637. Ἐννέα παίδων μητέρα.) The τέφρα in question is elsewhere mentioned by Aristophanes. An unguent called δρώπαξ was used for the same purpose, and is spoken of, by SYNESIUS, Calvit. Encom. p. 75. as ὃς ἀκριβέστερον σιδήρου ταῖς θριξὶν ἐπεξέρχεται: see TOUP's learned note, Emendat. in Suid. Vol. I. p. 143—145. The generic name for such depilatories was ψίλωθρον, and they are frequently mentioned, by both Greek and Latin authors. The usage in question was anciently regarded as highly effeminate, and excited the indignation of the Roman Satirists. JUVENAL, VIII. 16. IX. 14. PERSIUS, IV. 36. LUCIAN, also, in the Cynic, §. 14. Tom. III. p. 547. speaks of the men of his day as λεαίνοντες καὶ ψιλούμενοι πᾶν τοῦ σώματος μέρος, καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἀπορρήτων οὐδέν, ᾗ πέφυκεν, ἔχειν ἐῶντες. To such an extent did the custom prevail among men that at length a class of *women*, called παρατίλτριαι, attended in the baths, ut hominibus pilos evellerent: see, however, OLEARIUS, on Philostratus, V. A. IV. 27. p. 167. n. 8. At the present day the practice extends to men as well as women, among the Turks: and the observations of SANDYS, Travailes, p. 49. are still perfectly true: "The Turks be generally well complexioned, of good statures, and full bodies, proportionably compacted. They nourish no hair about them, but a lock on the crown, and on their faces only. But their beards they wear at full length; insomuch that they will scoffe at such Christians as cut, or naturally want them, as if suffering themselves to be abused against nature."

adopted by the female Mohammedans of Greece and Constantinople, but is also preserved, in some few places, among the Christian population[40].

[40] VILLOISON, in the Annales des Voyages, Tom. II. p. 178. "Dans l'île de Cos, et peût-être ailleurs, les femmes Grecques se dépilent."



FOUNTAIN IN MEGALO-KASTRON.

CHAPTER XI.

VISIT TO THE ARCHBISHOP. TITLES AND CELIBACY OF THE GREEK HIERARCHY. THE COMMON EUROPEAN NAME OF CRETE UNKNOWN IN THE ISLAND. GREEK CHURCHES. MIRACULOUS JOURNEY OF A PAINTING. OTHER SUPERSTITIOUS LEGENDS. MARRIAGE OF MOHAMMEDANS WITH CHRISTIAN WOMEN IN CRETE. THE GREEK'S HATRED OF HERETICS GREATER THAN THAT AGAINST MOHAMMEDANS. INTERVIEW WITH RATIB-EFFENDI.

March 2, 1834.

I WENT this morning to visit the Archbishop; whom I found surrounded by several episcopal dignitaries, and a few other persons. The conclave rose as I entered, and I had a seat assigned me on the divan, to the right of the Metropolitan. The usual cup of coffee, and a modest pipe, unadorned of course by any such precious stones as are usually seen on that of a Turk

of consideration, were presented to me: conserves were afterwards handed round.

The Archbishop is a tall and handsome man: his beard is long and his manner dignified. I had the misfortune of finding out, before I left his Holiness, that he is even more ignorant than is usually the case with individuals of his profession in these parts of the world. His Oekonómos however fully made up for the deficiencies of his superior. While I remained at the levee, several Greeks of the city came in to pay their respects to the Archbishop. On approaching the part of the divan, where he was seated, they touched the ground with the right hand: after kissing his Holiness's hand, they again touched the ground as before, while they retreated towards the entrance of the apartment.

The Bishops of the Oriental church are sometimes called Hierarchs, and sometimes High Priests[1], but more generally Despots. The latter lordly title they have long enjoyed, not, like the Bishops of England, in common with men, most of whom have greater fortunes and higher rank than their spiritual compeers, but as the peculiar address to which the Episcopal Dignitary is alone entitled. These Oriental ecclesiastics have certainly outstepped their western brethren in loud-sounding and pompous appellations, as much as they have fallen short of them in the enjoyment of the more substantial benefits both of a well-paid establishment and of temporal power[2]. Every Greek Bishop,

[1] A word in which Mánias used to delight was Ἀρχιερεύς: he used it constantly instead of Δεσπότης, when speaking of a bishop in the third person.

[2] The reverend satirist, SKELTON, thus addresses the Roman Catholic prelates of his day:

Ye are so puffed wyth pryde
That no man may abide
Your high and lordly lokes—
Ye bryng all to nought,
And that is all your thought.
For the lordes temporall
Their rule is very small,
Almost nothing at al.

though, in a mere worldly view, sometimes little removed from the condition of Paul and the Apostles, the labour of whose hands ministered to their daily necessities, yet enjoys the title of *His Holiness*, which, at Rome, contents even the successor of St Peter. The Patriarch at Constantinople must, of course, be of superior sanctity to a common Bishop, and is therefore addressed as *His All-Holiness*.

What the peculiar holiness of these mitred dignitaries, under the sun of Greece, really is, may be easily conjectured when it is known that they are *monks*. Although the Greek church not only allows, but, perhaps wisely, *compels* all her working clergy to marry[3], still her Bishops can be united to the spouse of Christ alone; and are therefore chosen solely from the members of the monastic order[4].

Thus the Archbishop of Gortyna is, and must ever remain, an unmarried man. His Oekonómos, however, has a wife, who is generally considered, at Megálo-Kástron, as a very beautiful woman[5]. This ecclesiastic, whose house adjoins on "the Metropolis," has to spend most of his time in visiting different parts of the Archbishop's extensive diocese; while his wife, of course, remains at home. The scandal of the city assigns a very obvious reason for the episcopal behests, in consequence of which the poor Oekonómos has so frequently to separate himself from the partner of his bed.

One of the Greeks, who remained for some time seated in the apartment, told me that there are very considerable remains of antiquity in the island of Kárpatho[6]. Two of the sites which he mentioned by name, as rich in such monuments, were Palaeókastron and

[3] The Papás must be married before he can be fully ordained.

[4] The Papás or parish priest can only become a bishop if a widower.

[5] She is tall and immoderately fat: the last point, as is well known, is considered an indispensable requisite for the perfection of female beauty in every part of Greece and Turkey. Hence the lover, when he wishes to pay his mistress the highest compliment, compares her walk with the waddle of a goose.

[6] Εἰς τὴν Κάρπαθο.

Palátia[7]. He said that there were, in the whole, four places of the kind in the island[8].

In the course of my conversation with the Archbishop, and the other prelates and priests assembled at the palace, I received a confirmation of what I had long supposed to be the case, that *no one* in the island, not even the dignified ecclesiastics with whom I conversed, knew of the existence of any other name than ἡ Κρήτη, or Crete, to designate their country. The word Candia has never been pronounced by any Cretan unacquainted with the Italian language.

The common European name of the island was obtained from that which the Venetians first used to designate its principal city. The Saracenic conquerors of Crete, in the ninth century, who started not directly from Spain, as has been commonly stated, but from Alexandria[9], first landed at Súdha, and the Akrotéri is called by Byzantine historians of the event, "the promontory Kharax." Súdha and Kharax are synonymous words in the writers of the lower empire: they are used, especially the former, to denote a trench defended by stakes[10]. The chieftain Abu Kaab, or Apokhaps, as he is called by the Byzantine writers[11], and his companions, soon afterwards founded the city

[7] Τὸ Παλαιόκαστρον and τὰ Παλάτια. The site of the principal ancient city of the island Proconnesos, in the Propontis, is now called by the same name, Palátia, or rather Palátion. The plague was raging in the town, which was in consequence abandoned by all its wealthier inhabitants, at the time of my visit to it in 1833. I copied several inscriptions in and near the place. The name of the Cyzicenes occurs in one of them. For the connexion between Proconnesus and Cyzicus, see the Authors referred to by Dr CRAMER, Asia Minor, I. 48. My inscriptions copied there, will, in all probability, appear in the second volume of Professor Boeckh's great work.

[8] In SCYLAX, p. 38. ed. Huds. Carpathos is mentioned as τρίπολις, but in STRABO, X. p. 489. the epithet τετράπολις is bestowed on it.

[9] See MURPHY, History of the Mohammedan Empire in Spain, p. 88. ASCHBACH, Geschichte der Ommaijaden in Spanien, p. 232.

[10] See DU CANGE, Glossarium, 1408. KORAY, ΑΤΑΚΤΑ, Tom. IV. p. 530.

[11] Abu is converted into Ἀπό, as Hippo was in another word: see above, p. 62.

"Khandax," the present Megálo-Kástron, in a more central situation; and its Saracenic name, which was adopted for a while by the Greeks, became, with Dandolo, Candida, and, with other Venetian writers, Candia. For a long time the word denoted only the principal city of Crete, which retained its ancient name with chroniclers[12], as well as in "The Tuscan father's Comedy Divine[13]."

At length, however, the Italian name of the chief town was also extended to the whole island, which has consequently been known at all events in Italy, France, and England, from the fifteenth century till the present day, only as Candia, Candie or Candy[14]. I hope it will now again recover in literary Europe the ancient name which alone has ever been pronounced by the tongues of its unlettered inhabitants.

[12] CODICE ANONIMO, della Biblioteca Estense, segnato MS. VII. B. 19. From the year 1205, and the election of Piero Ziani as Doge, the Chronicle extends to 1361, very soon after which time it was doubtless written. It is quite clear that it belongs to the fourteenth century. "E de presente ello fe armar XXXI gallie de le qual fo Capitanij li nobelli homeni Rayner Dandolo e Rugier Premari: li qual despartandosi de Venexia elli ave p' força darme li castelli de Corfu, de Coron, e de Modon. E po navegando alysola de Crede elli prese Lion Vetran, cũ molti oltri Cenoexi chandava scorseçando lo mar. E fin al mente elli acquista Candia, cũ le oltre citade e castelli in quel lidi, anche p' força darme. E p' comandamento del dito doxe la dita ysola fo devisa e partida dentro dali Venetiani liqualli fo mandadi li."

[13] DANTE, Inferno. XIV. 93.

In mezzo 'l mar siede *un paese guasto:*
Diss' egli allora; che s' appella Creta.

I transcribe an extract, which I made at Modena, from RAMBALDI DA IMOLA'S manuscript commentary. (MS. VI. H. 11. della Biblioteca Estense,) "Nunc ad literam dicit auctor *dis egli alora* s. ille virgilius. *un paese guasto che s' apella Creta.* Respexit ad tempus modernum, quia insula ista est hodie sub potestate Venetorum, multiplici servitute oppressa, et multum desolata. Quod quia est notum omnibus et largum esset enarrare dimitto."

[14] Which we English made from Candia, just as we had reduced Italia and Sicilia to Italy and Sicily. The word is found in the first translation of the New Testament from Greek into English, published in 1526, and made by TYNDALE, Acts, c. XXVII. "Syrs ye shulde have herde me, and not have departed from Candy:" and we also meet with it in SHAKSPEARE, Twelfth Night, v. I.

Orsino, this is that Antonio
That took the Phoenix, and her fraught, from Candy.

The cathedral church of the Archbishop, which is close by his residence, is highly adorned with silver ornaments and with paintings. Here, as well as in the other Greek church of the city, there is a latticed gallery, with a separate entrance for the women, so that the devotions of the male assembly are never disturbed in the way in which they always may be, and frequently are, in civilized Europe.

The practice thus observed by the Oriental church had become so general in the time of Constantine, that it is mentioned of his mother, the Empress Helena, that even she used always to pray with the women in their part of the building. The latticed galleries within which they are concealed at the present day, are precisely the same sort of place which old ecclesiastical writers[15] describe as appropriated to them: the existence of a separate entrance in ancient times is also distinctly stated.

I know not whether miraculous legends are told of any of the pictorial ornaments of this cathedral. In the mountains of Lassíthi, a short day's ride to the east-south-east of Megálo-Kástron, is found a picture which is believed to have come, spontaneously and unaided, through the air, from Constantinople.

Similarly another sacred image of "the Mother of God[16]," saved by pious men from the fury of here-

[15] Quoted by BINGHAM, Antiquities of the Christian Church, VIII. v. Sections VI. and VII. Compare LEO ALLATIUS, de Templis Graecorum recentioribus, Section XXXI. p. 34. where he concludes, "Et hoc non recentiorum solummodo Graecorum more sed vetustissima consuetudine receptum esse habeo ex Clemente constit. Apostolic. Cap. LVII. Philone Judaeo de vita contemplativa, Augustino, Lib. III. de Civit. Dei, c. XXVIII. et Lib. XXII. c. VIII. Chrysostomo, homil. LXXIV. in Matthaeum, S. Maximo de Ecclesiastica Mystagogia, Cap. III." Among the Armenians also the women are skreened by lattice-work from the gaze of the men: SMITH and DWIGHT, Missionary Researches in Armenia, Letter VII. p. 139.

[16] The phrase "Mother of God" is now little known in England, but is one of the commonest epithets of the great ever-virgin Goddess of modern Greece. This word Θεοτόκος was the chief stumblingblock in the way of the unfortunate Nestorius, who thought the word Χριστοτόκος, or "Mother of

tical iconoclasts, made not an aerial but an aqueous voyage from Constantinople, many centuries ago. She or it, which I should say I know not, was seen, after no great time had elapsed, standing up on the waves of the sea in the neighbourhood of Mount Athos. All attempts made by both people and priests to obtain possession of the miraculous picture were in vain. The Deity[17] at last communicated to the Bishop the ceremonies by observing which alone it would be possible to lay hold of the sacred image: and thus at length it was deprived, by the performance of the prescribed rites, of its power of dancing on the water, and of eluding the grasp of its zealous and devout pursuers. The monastery Ibéron, at the Holy Mountain, was built in honour of the wonderful event.

The pious heathen of ancient times, who believed certain sacred but inanimate things to have travelled from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos, thought it necessary to provide them with a human escort for their long and tedious journey[18]: but the Oriental Christian, both a few centuries ago and at the present day, in his unlimited faith and credulity, needs

of Christ," sufficiently expressive of the peculiar relation which she bore to the Deity. The orthodoxy of the day, however, thought it right to excommunicate and anathematize the so-called heretic, who consequently became the founder of a sect which was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus, and the numbers of which are said, with those of the Jacobites, to have once surpassed the Greek and Latin communions: see GIBBON, c. XLVII. The Mother-of-God-worship of Greece is sufficiently known from the writings of modern travellers, as well as from the Greek ritual. Her station is equally elevated among the Armenians, with whom a Protestant missionary in vain searches to discover any recognition of Christ's intercession with the Father, but finds innumerable prayers to the "holy Mother of God," in which she is implored "to intercede with Christ," for the objects of her suppliant's prayer: see SMITH and DWIGHT, Missionary Researches in Armenia, p. 108. They even once heard asserted her equality with the persons of the Trinity: l. c. p. 222.

[17] LEO ALLATIUS, de quorund. Graecor. opinat. p. 171. "Confugiunt ad preces; et lacrymis ac suspiriis exorant Deum, ut, quid facto opus sit, manifestet. Deus indicat Episcopo, Imaginem istam haberi non posse, nisi in eandem solemnitatem Iberi, quos jam diximus, convenirent."

[18] HERODOTUS, IV. 33.

no such aids; and feels neither hesitation nor difficulty in supposing, that his sacred and miracle-working pictures, have either flown through the air[19], or floated on the sea, all the way from Constantinople, to Crete or Mount Athos.

When the heathen legend seemed to require the personal agency of a God or Goddess, it was of course easily obtained; like that of the Saint or Virgin of the present mythology. Thus as we find that our Lady of Loretto once flew with a house through the air, from Syria to Italy, so, in ancient Greece, Athene transported a mountain from Pallene to the neighbourhood of Athens; and Lycabettos, or Anchesmos as it was afterwards called, became a permanent token of the miraculous protection designed by the tutelary Goddess of Athens for her favoured city[20].

The Greek tradition respecting the wonderful self-directed journey of the Virgin's picture to this island, will justify the mention of a Roman Catholic legend, the alleged scene of which was the cathedral church of Megálo-Kástron. At the celebration of mass, as soon as the wafer had been consecrated, it rose up in the air, eluded the priest's attempt to recover possession of it[21],

[19] Every one, who is acquainted with the mythology of modern Italy, will be reminded of legends, according to which holy pictures have descended from Heaven, like the Diopetés of Ephesus, or the Ancile of Rome.

[20] ANTIGONUS CARYSTIUS, c. XII. LEAKE, Topography of Athens, p. 70. and Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. IV. p. 579. WORDSWORTH, Athens and Attica, p. 59. On similar legends of the northern mythology consult J. GRIMM, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 309.

[21] To feel the full force of such a horrible, and even blasphemous legend as this, we must remember, that the bread becomes, in the opinion of all Roman Catholics, the very body of the living God, by the mere act of consecration. Before Kings had assumed the attributes and titles of the Deity, whom they were supposed to represent on earth, Majesty belonged to the God of Heaven alone: and a singular vestige, of this old and proper sense of the word, is found at the present day, in the popular name, "His Majesty," bestowed in some Roman Catholic countries, on the consecrated wafer, in which the Romanist beholds the body of the Deity. The oriental Christian equally speaks of the tangible bread and wine as "the King of the world:" FAURIEL, Tom. II. p. 338.

Σιμὰ νὰ βγοῦν τὰ ἅγια κ' ὁ βασιλεὰς τοῦ κόσμου.

and flew into the hands of Pasquale Cigogna, the pious Duke of Candia[23].

When we reflect on the manner in which the population of modern Crete had become half Mohammedan at the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, we need hardly wonder that, in this island, the credulity and superstitions of the Mohammedans should closely resemble those of the Christian population. Thus any supposed apparition of the Panaghía, in a particular spot, draws even Moslem devotees to implore her aid; and, in this city, the devout Mohammedan women burn incense every Friday, and some of them suspend bits of rag, and similar votive offerings, to honour an ancient statue, seen in the opposite plate and in the engraving of a fountain at the head of this chapter. The tradition current among them is that the saint was an Arab, to whose dress the ancient robe of the statue bears some resemblance, and that he greatly distinguished himself during the famous siege of the Kástron. The reason for his transmutation into stone is also assigned[23].

The social and religious position of the Cretan Musulman is certainly curious. We have already seen how the Musulman population of the island has been produced, like that of Albania[24], by the apostasy of its Christian inhabitants, and without any influx of strangers to the soil[25]. We have also noticed some

[23] He was elected Duke of Candia in 1567. The legend is recorded by SANSOVINO, Venetia Descritta (Venet. 1581) quoted by CORNARO, Cret. Sacr. Tom. II. p. 428. "Mentre udiva la messa, un giorno, in Candia, si levò l'Ostia consegrata all' altare, e, levatosi in aere, *benchè il sacerdote facesse ogni sforzo per receverlo*, andò a fermarsi nelle mani di questo Prencipe." Cornelius adds l. c. that some persons assigned Corfu as the place of the miracle.

[23] Unfortunately I have both mislaid, my memorandum made on the spot respecting this matter, and have forgotten the reason given for the metamorphosis. On other transmutations into stone see above, p. 24. n. 24.

[24] On which see LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. I. p. 49. p. 235. and p. 347.

[25] In Arabia Petraea the present Musulman population partly consists of converts from Christianity: some families of Christian Bedouins were still found in the last century: see BURCKHARDT, Travels in Syria, p. 564.

A Schranz del. L. Haghe Lith.

Day & Haghe Lith^rs to the King

M. E. GALO - KASTRON.

J. Murray, Albemarle St.

of the peculiarities of the Cretan Mohammedan's position: for instance his becoming, not unfrequently, the spiritual father of his Christian neighbour's child[26], and his most un-musulman habit of drinking the excellent wine which is produced in his native island. Another characteristic of their social position should also be pointed out: they have been very generally in the habit of taking as their wives Christian maidens, who retained their own faith, but all whose children were ordinarily brought up as followers of the prophet[27].

La Motraye spent a few days in Crete in 1710, and lodged one night with Alí-oglú, who had thus taken a Christian as his wife. "Ce couple vivoit fort bien ensemble: Ali-oglou alloit à la mosquée, et sa femme à l'église[28]. Pour les enfans, ils étoient élevez dans le Mahometisme. Il ne faisoit point de scrupule d'allumer pour elle la lampe les samedis, devant l'image de la Panagia."

This ignorant, or philosophical Musulman, acted sufficiently in the spirit of his religion, which is tolerant of all others, except of that professed by its own heretics. A fetva of the Múfti Abdúllah, pronounced in 1723, on a declaration of war, by the Turkish Emperor, against the Persians, declared, that "as to heretics (that is the Persians), it is not permitted to form any alliance with their women until they embrace the true faith. As to the unbelievers (Christians), any

[26] Above, p. 11.

[27] In some villages of the episcopal province of Ioánnina, where Mohammedans are married to Christian women, "the sons are educated as Turks, the daughters as Christians, and pork and mutton are eaten at the same table." LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. I. p. 49.

[28] The ancient heathens allowed the wife less liberty of conscience: PLUTARCH, Praecept. Conjug. p. 140. d. *Θεοὺς οὓς ὁ ἀνὴρ νομίζει, σέβεσθαι τῇ γαμετῇ καὶ γινώσκειν μόνους προσήκει· περιέργοις δὲ θρησκείαις καὶ ξέναις δεισιδαιμονίαις ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι τὴν αὐλειον.* Hence the wife is called "socia rei humanae et divinae." Thus a patrician maiden who married a plebeian was no longer permitted to worship the patrician Gods or Goddesses, but only those of her husband: see the story told in LIVY, (X. 23.) and cited by LOMEIER, de Lust. Vet. Gent. Cap. XXX. pp. 283–4.

such alliance may be made with their women, even without their so becoming Moslems[29]."

Although marriages of Christian *women* with Mohammedans have been common in Crete, and also elsewhere, yet, no doubt, many men among the Greeks would submit to death rather than marry a woman who had not been duly baptized. And, even with respect to their daughters, there are alliances, their aversion to which is almost insuperable: for instance those contracted with members of the Roman Catholic church[30]. With the Greek, as with the Mohammedan, the heretic is more hateful than the infidel; and the follower of the Prophet is preferred as a son-in-law to the bondman of the Pope[31].

Not half a century has passed since a Patriarch of Constantinople, regarding, as perhaps became the subject of an absolute monarch, his sovereign, the Turkish Emperor, in the light of God's Vicegerent on earth, even congratulated his Christian world, on the favour shewn them by the Deity in raising up the powerful nation of the Turks, *to insure the spiritual*

[29] VON HAMMER, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, Vol. VII. p. 300. Compare what has been said above, pp. 66–67.

[30] VILLOISON has made this observation. The Florentine priest BUONDELMONTI says (Cornel. Cret. Sacr. Tom. I. p. 108.) "Cum aliis contrahere non volunt, sed una intra se generatio copulatur." I became acquainted with a Venetian settler in Crete, who refused both to give up his own peculiar mode of making the sign of the cross, and to adopt the fasts of the Greek church, and therefore had to wait *many years*, and to confer all kinds of obligations on the family of her whom he wished to marry, before her parents could be brought to consent to the union of an orthodox Greek maiden with a Romish heretic. A reverend missionary has observed that "Notwithstanding the similarity existing between the Eastern and Western Churches, a bitter animosity inflames the respective members of these communions—if a Roman Catholic conforms to the Greek Church, *as is not unusual, for the sake of marriage*, he is rebaptized: and it is asserted that he is sometimes retained in the water for a very considerable space of time, in order that the Papal infection may be more completely effaced." HARTLEY, Researches in Greece, Ch. V. p. 80.

[31] The chief minister of the last Greek Emperor declared, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mohammed, than the tiara of the Pope: see GIBBON, Decline and Fall, Ch. LXVIII.

salvation of his elect people, by protecting them from the heresies of the western churches[32].

I learnt, from M. Godebout and other persons, that the Greek Archbishop adopted, on a recent occasion, a practice of the ancient Greeks and Romans, which is seldom observed by Christians, though of common occurrence at the festive entertainments of Mohammedan gentlemen. In order to enliven a party, at which the Pashá, and Osmán-bey, as well as the consular agents and the principal Cretans of the city, were present, the Prelate procured the attendance of a number of dancing-girls[33].

The Metropolitan might have defended this practice, not only by the powerful argument of its antiquity, but even by the authority of Socrates. In the Symposion of Xenophon, the great Athenian sage, who is said by Cicero to have brought down philosophy to the earth, to arbitrate on the ordinary social relations and affairs of mankind, is described as having made the varied and agile motions of a dancing-girl the basis of a philosophical lesson, which he bestowed on his disciples.

I suppose that, at the present day, such an exhibition of the free and easy motions of such females, cannot be of ordinary occurrence in the palaces of Christian Prelates, either in the Oriental or in any other church. But we have the high and conclusive authority of a General Council, as evidence that this convivial usage of the ancient heathens was adopted and enjoyed by members of the Christian priesthood,

[32] ANTHIMOS, Διδασκαλία Πατρική, in LEAKE, Researches in Greece, p. 194. Ὕψωσε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτὴν τῶν Ὀθαμανῶν περισσότερον ἀπὸ κάθε ἄλλην, διὰ νὰ ἀποδείξῃ ἀναμφιβόλως ὅτι θείῳ ἐγένετο βουλήματι, καὶ ὄχι μὲ δύναμιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ νὰ πιστοποιήσῃ πάντας τοὺς πιστούς—νὰ οἰκονομήσῃ τὴν σωτηρίαν—εἰς τοὺς ἐπιλεκτούς του λαούς. Κατέστησε—αὐτὴν τὴν ὑψηλὴν βασιλείαν—διὰ νὰ εἶναι εἰς μὲν τοὺς δυτικοὺς ὡσὰν ἕνας χαλινός, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἀνατολικοὺς ἡμᾶς πρόξενος σωτηρίας.

[33] ARISTOPHANES, Ach. 1056.

Στέφανοι, μύρον, τραγήμαθ', αἱ πόρναι πάρα—
ὀρχηστρίδες, τὰ φίλταθ' Ἁρμοδίου, καλαί.

very soon after Constantine had bestowed on them rank and wealth and temporal power[34].

From the levee of the Christian Archbishop I again went to the palace of the Mohammedan Governor-General. His answer to various requests, which I made for permission to excavate on ancient sites, to take sketches, and to draw plans, &c. &c. was uniformly a ready assent: "Péke!" He had just received information of the loss, by fire, in the port of Alexandria, of a new and beautiful frigate of 62 guns. The general, Osmán-bey, seemed greatly afflicted at the news: he observed to me that he feared they were not yet rightly disciplined, and said that, in the British navy, a lighted candle would not have been left on a wooden table. I mentioned the loss of the Kent East-Indiaman, which proved that, even with English discipline, such an accident might occur, and was therefore a ground of consolation to my Turkish friends.

I found the Pashá engaged this morning in the study of the military art, with a European instructor, a native of Corsica.

Mustafá-pashá has had ample experience in the warfare of *irregular* troops during the long struggle of the Cretans: but till lately was totally ignorant of the regular art of war.

After visiting the Pashá, I went to Ratíb-efféndi, an Egyptian Turk, the President of the Council of Megálo-

[34] The authority of the Council did not suffice to stop the practice, which the Archbishop of Gortýna still observes, and we find it again expressly prohibited in the Theodosian code. I was once present at a similar exhibition, which formed part of the entertainment given at a great festival by a Turk of high rank. The motions of these females may be well described by a few passages of ancient authors. POLLUX, IV. 14. Ἀσελγῆ εἴδη ὀρχήσεων ἐν τῇ τῆς ὄσφυος περιφορᾷ. JUVENAL, VI. 63. SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, IX. Ep. XIII. in a description of a feast:

Juvat et vago rotatu
Dare fracta membra ludo:
Simulare vel trementes
Pede, veste, voce Bacchas.

Additional authorities are indicated in the ANTICHITA DI ERCOLANO, Tom. I. p. 97.

Kástron. I found on his divan two Cretans, one the chief of the custom-house-department, under the old Turkish rule, and the other a certain Cretan bey, now a member of the Council. We soon discovered the incompetency of the French consular agent's interpreter to explain what was said on either side, and we all found a great relief from his ignorance and stupidity, when the Cretans began to talk with me in Greek, and to interpret to Ratíb-efféndi, whenever he joined in the conversation. He has been here ever since the Council was established, but does not as yet himself understand Greek.

The President expressed a wish to know something of our system of laws in England. I endeavoured to make him understand, as well as I could, the different sources of legal authority: our common law, our acts of parliament, and our innumerable tomes of decisions made in the principal law courts. He requested instances of all three kinds, which I gave him. In speaking of the first, I said, that according to its principles the eldest son succeeds to all the land of his intestate father. The President, and his two correligionaries, thought they had not rightly understood me, and rejoined, "But supposing the man to have left other children?" When I repeated to them that the eldest son would still have the whole estate, they thought we must have misunderstood one another; and on learning, at last, that there was no mistake in the case, seemed to consider our custom as a strange and unnatural piece of injustice. I could only say, that at all events our laws were definite on innumerable points on which a brief code could hardly decide; that they were also capable of receiving daily alterations and improvements; and that, in fact, many points are altered by Parliament every year. This led to a long discussion of *their* law: I argued in favour of the common Christian system, which leaves the supreme controul over all the municipal laws of a country in the hands of its govern-

ment; but I was put down by the assurance that though, with other people, such a supreme controul over merely human ordinances, might be most advantageous, still with them it was both impossible and unnecessary; "for the writings of the Prophet contain every thing: he left nothing unsaid[35]."

The two Cretan gentlemen, who both speak Turkish as fluently as Greek, complain of the poverty of the Turkish language, and praise the great richness of the Greek, which contains, as it were, within itself the power of forming almost every imaginable new word, without receiving it from other languages; while Turkish borrows, not only from Arabic and Persian, but even from the different dialects of Europe[36].

A good deal of this long conversation was translated by one or other of the Cretans to the President: a few words were also addressed to him by myself directly: but he naturally missed a good deal, and was sufficiently interested in the whole of it to express his deep regret at not speaking Greek, and to press me to visit him again.

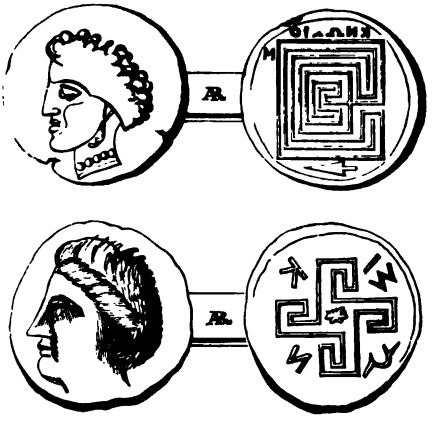
It is so very rare a thing for a European traveller ever to enter into a dialogue with a Turkish gentleman, except through the medium of a Jew interpreter, that the very novelty and singularity of such a conversation would alone have made it somewhat interesting. I need hardly observe that not one syllable respecting religion or "the law" of all true Moslems, would any Turk of rank and education ever have suffered to pass through the mouth of an ignorant and unbelieving Jew.

We also conversed on many other topics, besides the most important of all, law and religion: among them were the antiquities of Crete, of the hundred

[35] Δὲν ἄφηκε τίποτες ἀνομίλητο.

[36] Thus *bir fregat*, a frigate. Half-educated Mohammedans of the *towns* in Crete, who speak Turkish, also use many Italian words. I have heard a man speak of *bir copia*, a copy.

ancient cities of which my friends had heard a report; of my artist and his sketches; of my object in carefully exploring all the antiquities of the island; of the laws by which the Greeks were governed before the Turkish capture of Constantinople; of Egypt and the inundation of the Nile; of the principles of hydrostatics, with the use of the Turkish sú-terassí, which is seen in many aqueducts; and of various other matters. Interesting as the conversation was to the parties who were present, it is hardly worth while to drag my reader through all its details. Our costly pipes were several times replenished, coffee was twice handed round, and sherbet once, before I rose and took my leave.



COINS OF CNOSSOS.

CHAPTER XII.

POPULATION OF MEGALO-KASTRON. INSCRIPTION ON A VENETIAN FOUNTAIN. MARRIAGE OF ZEUS AND HERE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF CNOSSOS. VESTIGES OF CNOSSOS AT MAKRO-TEIKHO. CRETAN BISHOPRICS. LEGENDARY TOMB OF THE HIGH-PRIEST CAIAPHAS. TOMBS OF IDOMENEUS AND MERIONES. DISTINGUISHED CNOSSIANS. THE MYTHICAL LABYRINTH, AND ITS INHABITANT THE MINOTAUR. COINS OF CNOSSOS.

March 3.

THE population of Megálo-Kástron is about 12,000 souls, 11,000 of whom are Mohammedans. Scarcely any change has been produced by the war in the number of its inhabitants. The places of many who perished have been taken by new settlers from the country. The small Mohammedan proprietor used to have his field tilled by his Christian neighbour, and is no longer able, under the rule of Mehmét-Alí, to continue the system

of the good old times. Thus, knowing not either how to plough his field, or to dig his vineyard himself, he finds it easier to keep a shop in the city than to dwell on his land in the country. I was assured by many persons that this class of new residents at Megálo-Kástron is numerous.

Near the old Jewish quarter of the city is seen a Venetian fountain, which, however, has long ceased to be supplied with water. The following Latin inscription records the occasion of its erection, and the name of the Venetian Proveditor by whose beneficence it was built.

D. O. M.
BELLO ÆSTVANTE QVATVOR
ELAPSIS IAM LVSTRIS VRBI
OBSESSÆ AQVIS EXHAVSTÆ
LATICES E TERRÆ LATEBRIS
EXTRA MOENIA SVRGENTES
MIRA SOLERTIA PROVIDA
CHARITATE AVXIT ANTONIVS
PRIOLVS IN DIFFICILLIMIS
REIPVBLICÆ TEMPORIBVS
PROV. GENERALIS EXTRA
ORDINEM PIVS PRVDENS
OPTIME MERITVS NONDVM
CRETÆ PERFVNCTO REGIMINE
AD CONSVLAREM VENETIARM
MOX PROCONSVLAREM DAL:
MATIÆ ALBANIÆQ. FASTIGIVM
SVMA ACCLAMATIONE EVECTVS
ANNO DNI MDCLXVI.

After my long and interesting conversation with Ratíb-efféndi, mentioned in the latter part of the preceding chapter, I rode, attended only by Captain Maniás, past the village of Fortezza to "Cave-bridge[1]," near which I noticed several caverns, and many ancient

[1] Εἰς τὰ σπήλαια ἡ καμάρα.

sepulchres excavated in the rocky sides of the neighbouring hills.

We are here in the immediate vicinity of the site of Cnossos, and I suppose this stream to be the ancient Tethris[2], or Theron[3], in the neighbourhood of which, according to the Cretan tradition, the marriage of Zeus and Heré was celebrated. The event was commemorated by annual sacrifices and ceremonies, performed in a temple erected on the spot, and in which a mimetic representation of the marriage was exhibited to the gaze of the assembled Cretans. Other traditions assigned a different locality to this supposed union of Zeus and Heré[4], and the words of Theocritus make it obvious that the question was one of recondite mythology in his day[5].

From Cave-bridge I proceeded to Mákro-teíkho, undoubtedly the site of Cnossos. All the now existing vestiges of the ancient "metropolis" of Crete, are some rude masses of Roman brick-work[6], part of the so-called long wall from which the modern name of the site has been derived.

Savary and Sonnini both assert that the hamlet where these ruins are situated, is called Gnossú. The former's words are "Depuis ce moment, la superbe Cnosse, couchée dans la poussière, ne s'est point relevée de ses ruines; mais des monceaux de pierres, d'anciens

[2] PAUSANIAS, I. p. 66. and SIEBELIS, p. 98.

[3] DIODORUS SICULUS, V. 72. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γάμους τούς τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῇ Κνωσίων χώρᾳ γενέσθαι κατά τινα τόπον πλησίον τοῦ Θήρηνος ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃν νῦν ἱερόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ θυσίας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἁγίους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων συντελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἀπομιμεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παρεδόθησαν.

[4] AELIAN, N. A. XII. 30. STEPHAN. BYZANT. v. Κάρυστος, and other authors: see HEMSTERHUSIUS, in Valck. on Theocrit. Adoniaz. p. 366. c.

[5] THEOCRITUS, XV. 64.

Πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἀγάγεθ' Ἥραν.

[6] STRABO, X. p. 477. Νῦν δὲ Κνωσσὸς καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν ἔχει. A coin, representing on one side the head of Mark Antony, and on the other that of Octavianus, has been supposed to have been struck here: see the learned investigation of D. CELESTINO CAVEDONI, Appendice al Saggio di Osservazioni sulle Medaglie di Famiglie Romane, etc. pp. 104—106.

murs à moitié démolis, et le nom de *Cnossou*, que cet emplacement a conservé, font connaître, d'une manière certaine, le lieu qu'elle occupait[7]." This totally untrue statement respecting the preservation of the name of Cnossos, seems to be introduced to round the period, and to give to the ruins of Mákro-teíkho an additional interest, and an undoubted identity with the celebrated ancient city.

Pococke who, though frequently hasty and careless, is certainly never guilty of making similar wilful misstatements, mentions the name of Cnossú as belonging to the castellate, or eparkhía, as it would be called by the Cretans. The name was that of a bishopric, which existed till a few years ago, but it is no unusual thing for ancient names to be thus preserved by bishops long after every vestige of the places to which they once belonged has been lost. Pococke says[8], "the spot where the small remains of old Cnossos are, is now called Candake, doubtless from the trenches which the Turks made there round their camp, that being the meaning of the word in modern Greek." This must be an unintentional, as Savary's appears to have been a wilful error. I not only learn that the present name of the site is Mákro-teíkho, but also find that it was long known by the same appellation, even to the Venetians.

It is under this name that it was mentioned by Buondelmonti four hundred years ago, and Cornaro, who wrote the history of Crete at the beginning of the seventeenth century, speaks of the existing vestiges of the ancient city, and observes that its name of Mákro-teíkho was judged to have been derived from the long wall which was part of the ruins[9].

[7] See also SAVARY, Lettre XXI. p. 187. "C'est à cet éloignement de Candie, (25 stades,) vers le sud-est, que l'on trouve le village de *Cnossou*, où l'on voit les débris de cette ville autrefois fameuse."

[8] POCOCKE, Vol. II. Part I. p. 255.

[9] ANDREA CORNARO, Historia Candiana, fol. 2. He speaks of the site of Cnossos, where were seen, "molte machine di volti, et marmi, con infinità di rovine, et in particolar un muro, lungo di molti passi e ben grosso—si giudica che prese d'esso il nome di Macrotigho."

The diocese of Cnossós has been lately united, with Khersónesos, to the metropolitan see of Gortýna. As the ordinary benefices of our Protestant Establishment, in England, are daily bought and sold, so the Episcopal Dignities of the Oriental Church are usually obtained, if not always by the best bidder, like an English living, at all events on the payment of a considerable sum of money.

> They gaspe and they gape
> Al to have promocion;
> There is their whole devocion,
> With money, if it will hap
> To catch the forked cap.

The necessary expenses, at Constantinople, of the purchase of a bishopric, are so serious that, since the revolution, a considerable alteration has been introduced into the Cretan dioceses, which are now only eight in number: Gortýna, Hierá, Mirabéllo, Arkadhía, Avlopótamos, Hághio-Vasíli or Lámpe, Kydhonía, and Rhithýmne. There were, till the recent change, the four others of Sitía, Cnossós, Khersónesos, and Kísamos[10].

According to an ancient tradition, Idomeneus and Meriones, were buried at Cnossos[11]; and a Christian legend has long pointed out, near this site, the tomb of Caiaphas. Mention is made of this latter monument by both the Tuscan traveller Buondelmonti[12], and the Cretan historian Cornaro[13]. Pococke has described

[10] In Greek these Bishops, or Arch-Priests (Ἀρχιερεῖς), are designated ὁ Μητροπολίτης, ὁ Ἱερᾶς, ὁ Μιραμπέλου, ὁ Ἀρκαδίας, ὁ Αὐλοποτάμου, ὁ ἁγίου Βασιλείου, ὁ Κυδωνίας, and ὁ Ριθύμνης, with ὁ Σητείας, ὁ Κνωσσοῦ, ὁ Χερρονήσου, and ὁ Κισάμου.

[11] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 79. Τὸν τάφον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Κνωσῷ δεικνύουσιν, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα τοιάνδε,

> Κνωσίου Ἰδομενῆος ὅρα τάφον· αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοι
> πλησίον ἵδρυμαι, Μηριόνης ὁ Μόλου.

[12] BUONDELMONTI, in CORNELIUS, I. p. 12. and p. 97.

[13] ANDREA CORNARO, in CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. p. 58. "Nell' anno 23 di Tiberio—nell' andar a Roma Pilato Presidente della Giudea, et Gioseffo detto Caifasso Pontefice della Giudea—capitarono per viaggio in Creta, et, essendosi ammalato, Caifasso morì" etc.

the tomb which was thus pointed out to him as belonging to the Jewish High-priest[14].

Cnossos numbers some distinguished names in the list of her sons. Chersiphron and his son Metagenes were the architects of the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Iophon, the expounder of oracles, was likewise a Cnossian[15], as well as Aenesidemus the philosopher, Petellides the historian, and the so-called Dictys Cretensis. Cnossos was also the birth-place of Ergoteles, whose victories in the Olympian, Pythian, and Isthmian games are celebrated by Pindar[16].

> Son of Philanor! in the secret shade
> Thus had thy speed, unknown to fame, decay'd;
> And, like the crested bird, at home
> Inglorious had'st thou spent thy bloom;
> Had not sedition's civil broils
> Expell'd thee from the Cnossian plain,
> And driven thee, with more glorious toils,
> The Olympic crown in Pisa's vale to gain.

[14] POCOCKE, Vol. II. Part I. Book IV. c.v. p. 256. "There are some little remains of the walls (of Cnossos), especially to the north—about a quarter of a mile to the west of the town there is a building near the road, which is ten feet square within; the walls are six feet thick, and cased with brick inside and out; it seems to have been some ancient sepulchre; the people say it is the tomb of Caiaphas, and the most modest account they give of it is, that he landed at this place, where he died and was buried; that his body being found above ground, they buried it again, which happened seven times, and at last they built this strong fabric over it, which they say prevented its rising again, to which they add many other circumstances equally ridiculous. I mention this only to show, that the people of Crete have now as great a genius for inventing and spreading fables, as they had in the times of Paganism."

[15] PAUSANIAS, I. p. 84. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 389. ULRICI, Geschichte der Hellenischen Dichtkunst, Vol. II. p. 239. A love story of two Cnossian youths, Promachus and Leucocomas, was told by Conon: see PHOTIUS, Biblioth. p. 133. a. 23. ed. Bekk.

[16] PINDAR, Ol. XII. 19. Gibbon, who ascribed the fruits of his own education to the fortunate banishment which placed him at Lausanne, used sometimes to apply to his fate these verses of Pindar. See the autobiographical MEMOIRS, in his Miscellaneous Works, Vol. I. p. 88. ed. Basle 1796. On the passage of Pindar, as relating to the insulation and separation of Crete from the rest of Greece, see HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 445.

The natural caverns and excavated sepulchres seen in the immediate neighbourhood of the site of Cnossos[17], call to mind the well-known ancient legend respecting the Cretan labyrinth, the locality of which is uniformly assigned to this city. It was described as a building[18], erected by the celebrated artist Daedalus, and designed as a dwelling for the Minotaur[19]. There is, however, no sufficient reason for believing that the Cretan labyrinth ever had a more real existence than its fabled occupant. Much as is said, in the Homeric poems, of Daedalus, Minos, Ariadne, and other Cretan worthies, it is in vain that we search, to find in them any evidence of the material existence of this monument. Hesiod and Herodotus are equally silent on the subject of the imaginary edifice, and the latter author, who compares the Egyptian labyrinth with the temples of Ephesus and Samos[20], could hardly have avoided mentioning the labyrinth of Crete, if there had been such a building in existence. It is scarcely necessary to add, that I found no traces of any such monument in the neighbourhood of Mákro-Teíkho.

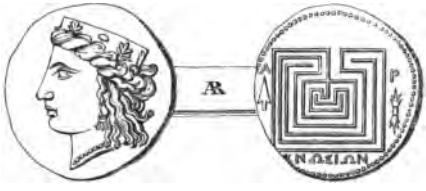
The forms of the mythical labyrinth, as exhibited on the coins of Cnossos, are naturally varied, since they represent not a material edifice, but a work of the imagination. The first of the two coins exhibited at the head of this chapter is of high antiquity, and of a rudeness of execution which is truly Cretan. I procured it in the Sfakian mountains. Two others of those engraved on the opposite page are found in the

[17] Above, p. 204.

[18] DIODORUS SICULUS, I. 61. APOLLODORUS, III. 4.

[19] The legendary offspring of Pasiphae was called not Minotauros but Asterios by the Cretans: see APOLLODORUS, III. 1. 4. Πασιφάη Ἀστέριον ἐγέννησε τὸν κληθέντα Μινώταυρον. PAUSANIAS, II. p. 183. Ἀστερίωνα τὸν Μίνω καταγωνισάμενος ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης. TZETZES, on Lycophr. 1301. On the different forms with which the Minotaur is represented, by ancient artists and authors, see the learned Italian editors of the ANTICHITA DI ERCOLANO, Tom. I. p. 24.

[20] HERODOTUS, II. 148.



COINS OF CNOSSOS.

Ducal cabinet at Modena[21]; but they are all, with the exception of that which I obtained in Sfakiá, known to numismatists. It may be added, that even authors who understood the ancient myths as records of strictly historical facts, admit that the edifice of the labyrinth had dissolved into thin air, before their time, and, like the fabric of a dream, had "left not a rack behind[22]."

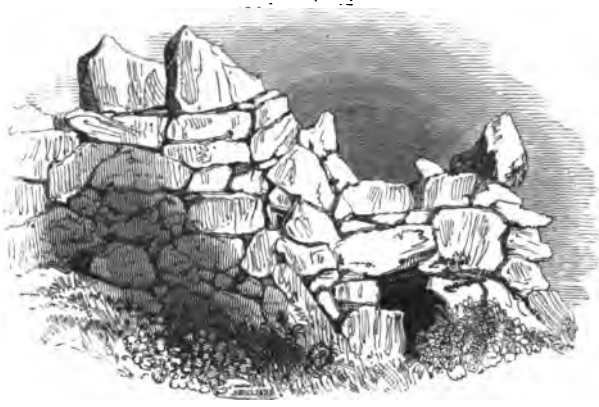
The head of Pallas is represented on some of the coins of Cnossos, and on others that of Demeter, crowned with ears of corn. We read in Solinus "Gnosii Minervam civem deam numerant;" and the same author adds, that the Cnossians contended with the Athenians for the praise of having first produced corn for the use of man[23].

The mythological celebrity and historical importance of Cnossos, demand a more careful and minute attention than can be bestowed on them in a mere book of travels. But, since I write as a traveller, and nothing more remains to be examined at Mákro-Teíkho, I shall at once bid farewell to this capital of ancient Crete, which, even after the Roman conquest, remained for some time a considerable city, but, under the Venetian and Turkish rule, has dwindled down into this miserable hamlet, and the few shapeless heaps of masonry, which alone recal to the remembrance of the passing traveller its ancient and bygone splendour.

[21] They may be thus described: 1. Caput muliebre, ad s. capillis retro defluis, corona fastigiata floribus distincta, auripendentibus et monili exornatum. ☩ KNΩΣIΩN. Labyrinthus quadratus: in area, hinc A et pilum hastae, inde P et fulmen. 2. Caput Jovis laureatum, barbatum, ad s. ☩ KNΩΣIΩN. Labyrinthus quadratus, ad cujus aditum stella.

[22] DIODORUS SICULUS, I. 61. Ὁ μὲν κατὰ Κρήτην ἠφανίσθη τελέως, εἴτε δυνάστου τινὸς κατασκάψαντος, εἴτε τοῦ χρόνου τὸ ἔργον λυμηναμένου. PLINY, XXXVI. 19. "Exstantque adhuc reliquiae ejus (Lemnii labyrinthi) cum Cretici Italicique nulla vestigia exstent." See Professor HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. pp. 56—63. by whom the question respecting this Cretan labyrinth is placed in so clear and strong a light that a doubt respecting it can hardly remain on any mind.

[23] SOLINUS, c. XI. "Primumque apud se fruges satas audacter cum Atticis contendunt."



ANCIENT WALLS ON MOUNT JUKTAS.

CHAPTER XIII.

KASTRON TO ARKHANES. MOUNT JUKTAS. VENETIAN FOUNTAIN. SEPULCHRE OF ZEUS. ANCIENT WALLS. MODERN CRETANS. RIDE TO KANI-KASTELI. MIDDLE-AGE REMAINS. CASTLE TEMENOS. THE SITES OF THENAE AND OMPHALION. THE RIVER TRITON. ATHENE TRITOGENEIA. TRAGICAL EVENTS AT KANI-KASTELI. MONASTERY OF HAGHIO GHEORGHIO EPANO-SIPHES.

March 5.

We left Megálo-Kástron early this afternoon, and soon past Fortezza[1] a little on our left. In somewhat less than an hour and a half, we quitted the undulating and cultivated surface of the plain which surrounds the capital of the island, and began to ascend the stony slopes of the eastern side of Mount Júktas. At length

[1] I adopt the Italian orthography: a Greek would write the word Φουρτέτζα.

we saw before us, on a slightly rising ground, the village of Arkhánes, about which are a few olives and cypresses.

I was of course anxious to hear something of the sepulchre of Zeus; but it was in vain that I inquired of my host, Dhemétrio's brother, for any cave on the mountain. He knew of nothing of the kind; and all that I could learn from him was that, about a mile off, there is a fountain with an inscription on it. When I had thus failed in obtaining any information about the cave, I said, rather meaning to tell him an old story, than supposing that I should learn any thing, that one Zeus, a god of the Hellenes, was said to have been buried there; and that it was his tomb[2] that I wished to see. I had pronounced the very name by which a place on the summit of the mountain is known to all the people in the neighbourhood, although only a few shepherds have ever seen it. My host had never heard it called by any other name than the tomb of Zeus, and therefore had not understood me at first, when I inquired after a cave. It was too late to visit the top of Júktas to-night: so I went to look at the fountain, which is in a stony valley at the foot of the hill, and is distant about a mile to the north of the village. Its waters join those of an aqueduct which passes close by it, conveying a copious stream from Mount Júktas to the city. A Latin inscription tells us that it was the work of Francesco Morosini, the Proveditore of Crete in 1627, when the chief city was in great want of water.

Over the doorway of the church of the Panaghía, at this village of Arkhánes, are bas-reliefs seemingly of the time of the Venetians. Epáno-Arkhánes still contains about 150 houses: at Káto-Arkhánes there are only 30. The government, here as in most other places, now receives the tithe, or rather the seventh, of all the produce. The chief growth of the village is its

[2] Τοῦ Διὸς τὸ μνημεῖον, or τοῦ Διὸς τὸ μνῆμα, were my words.

wine[3], which is excellent; and of which it produces, in a good season, from 8,000 to 10,000 stamnia[4].

What I learn from individuals with whom I become acquainted in my travels, gives me a lively idea of the widely spread misery, and of the destruction of human life, brought about in Crete between 1821 and 1830. My host here lost his father and three brothers: his wife's father and one of her brothers were also put to death by the Mohammedans. The poor woman took these afflictions to heart so heavily, that she died of grief. After losing her my host could not flee to the mountains with two young children, and therefore went and lived for three years in the Kástron.

This village contains no less than nine churches, its population being entirely Christian. In five alone is service ever performed, and of these only regularly at the Panaghía's. The people attend at the other churches on the particular festivals of their respective Saints. There is, about two miles off, a monastery of the Panaghía Spelaeótissa[5], which has now only six or eight kalógheri.

March 6.

I found, as a guide up the mountain, a shepherd, who had become acquainted with the tomb of Zeus in tending his flock. A good hour was spent in reaching the summit, towards the northern extremity of which I observed foundations of the massive walls of a building

[3] BUONDELMONTI in CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. I. p. 10. says, "Ab alia parte versus Orientem planus est bacchi fertilissimus, Archanes nomine, in quo plura et ampla rura manent."

[4] On this ancient and proper usage of the word σταμνίον, see PHRYNICHUS, p. 400. ed. Lobeck. Σταμνία· οἱ μὲν ἀμαθεῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμίδων τάττουσιν· οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι ἐπὶ τῶν οἰνηρῶν ἀγγείων. In all probability no ἀμὶς has ever been used by the inhabitants of Arkhánes, or even of ancient cities in its neighbourhood, and therefore the old usage of the word σταμνίον has easily been preserved free from corruption. The commonest article of bedroom furniture, in civilized Europe, was hardly known to any Athenian, when I was at Athens in 1833; and the idea of using such a thing in a house was even shocking to their notions of cleanliness.

[5] See above, p. 93.

the length of which was about eighty feet. Within this space is an aperture in the ground, which may perhaps once have led into a moderate-sized cave; but, whatever may have been its former size, it is now so filled up, that a man cannot stand in it, and its diameter is not above eight or ten feet[6].

These then are the only remains of that object of deep religious veneration, the supposed tomb of "the Father of gods and men," with its celebrated inscription,

> All which devouring Time, in his so mighty waste,
> Demolishing those walls, hath utterly defac'd:
> So that the earth doth feel the ruinous heaps of stones,
> That with their burd'nous weight now press his sacred bones[7].

I now stand on the spot, in which Zeus was supposed to be at rest from all celestial and terrestrial cares, and which was so celebrated during many ages! The testimony of a long series of ancient and ecclesiastical authors[8], proves fully and distinctly, that the

[6] A good deal of alteration has been produced, during the last four centuries, in the cavern, if its locality was the same in the days of BUONDELMONTI, in CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. I. p. 10. "Juxta viam euntem ad montem Jurte ad dexteram spileum in saxo parvo ore est, cujus longitudo XLII, latitudo vero IV, passuum, in cujus capite sepulcrum Jovis maximi est, cum literis deletis." Ibid. p. 97. "Cum epitaphio tam deleto quod vix literam cognoscere potuimus aliquam, sed quia per totam insulam ita esse pervulgatum cognovi, omnia credere non difficile fuit." See also BELON, Observations etc. c. XVII. "Le sepulcre de Jupiter, tel que les anciens l'ont descrit, est encor monstré pour le jour d'huy, qui dure en son entier." I cannot believe the incredulous sneer of TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Tom. I. p. 68. to be deserved by this careful and trustworthy observer. SAVARY was shewn the summit like myself, Lettre XXII. p. 194. If the supposed tomb was here, on the summit of Júktas, we may compare it with another at the top of a lofty mountain, near Petra the capital of Idumea, and which, according to traditions preserved among the Arabs, is the burial-place of the prophet Harun or Aaron: see NUMBERS XX. 22—29. and LABORDE, Arabia Petraea, p. 191. and 194. ed. Lond. This comparison becomes still more appropriate, if we follow the SCHOLIAST OF CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Zeus, v. 8. who says that the tomb was, at first, that of the Cretan lawgiver Minos, and that its inscription was *Μίνωος τοῦ Διὸς τάφος*.

[7] DRAYTON, Poly-Olbion, Song XVI.

[8] CICERO, de N. D. III. 21. "Tertium (Jovem) Cretensem, Saturni filium: cujus in illa insula sepulcrum ostenditur." DIODORUS SICULUS, III. 61. (p. 230.) *Δεικνυμένου τοῦ τὴν ταφὴν δεξαμένου τόπου μέχρι τῶν καθ'*

tomb remained an object of curiosity to strangers, and of veneration to the Cretans, from an early period till after the age of Constantine. The legal establishment of Christianity, as the paid religion of the state, by that Emperor, did but little in Greece towards extinguishing the ancient superstitions[9]. The Christian ruler of the Roman world, in his earnest desire for the conversion of all his heathen subjects, undoubtedly held out many strong inducements to make them adopt the newly established religion: he bestowed temporal prizes on conformity[10], and, sometimes, used violence and persecution to attain his end[11]. Still he *professed* to tolerate those who adhered to the old theology: "Let not any one molest another, but let each person follow the religion which he prefers," were his words[12], although his conduct did not always correspond with them[13].

καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων. LUCIAN, de Sacrif. 10. Tom. I. p. 634. ed. Hemst. and de Jov. Tragoed. 45. Tom. II. p. 693. Ἐπεὶ οἵ γε ἐκ Κρήτης ἥκοντες ἄλλα ἡμῖν διηγοῦνται, τάφον τινὰ κεῖθι δείκνυσθαι, καὶ στήλην ἐφεστάναι, δηλοῦσαν ὡς οὐκέτι βροντήσειεν ἂν ὁ Ζεύς, τεθνεὼς πάλαι. ORIGEN, c. Cels. III. 43. p. 475. ed. Par. Καταγελῶμεν τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δείκνυται. The same fact is spoken of by many other authors: see MEURSIUS, Cret. p. 80. and ELMENHORSTIUS and WOWERUS, on Minucius Felix, p. 213. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1692.

[9] It is observed by FALLMERAYER, Gesch. der Morea, p. 113. that after Constantine's time still "Olympia, Amyklae und Eleusis, die drei Hauptquartiere des Hellenismus, blieben unberuehrt—die Zerstoerung derselben das Signal eines allgemeinen Aufstandes gewesen waere. Fuer ihren Glauben, und fuer ihre Goetter, wussten Heiden eben so gut zu sterben als Christen fuer die Wahrheit der neuen Lehre—Mit Julians Thronbesteigung (361 nach. Chr.) schien Zeus noch einmal—ueber den Christengott zu triumphiren. Die Heiden waren ueberall die Mehrzahl, erhielten alle oeffentlichen Aemter; Opfer und Spiele zu Delphi, zu Korinth, zu Argos, und Olympia, wurden mit erneuter Pracht gefeiert; in Korinth, in Argos, und sogar in Sparta philosophische Stuetzen fuer die sinkenden Altaere der Goetter gezimmert."

[10] EUSEBIUS, Life of Constantine, III. 21. The consequence of this was that many conformed externally, but retained their inner belief in the old superstitions: EUSEBIUS, l. c. IV. 59.

[11] See EUSEBIUS, l. c. III. 58. and de laudib. Const. c. VIII. HEINICHEN, on III. 54. not. 3. and IV. 19. not. 5.

[12] EUSEBIUS, l. c. II. 56. Ὁμοίαν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν οἱ πλανώμενοι χαίροντες λαμβανέτωσαν εἰρήνης τε καὶ ἡσυχίας ἀπόλαυσιν—μηδεὶς τὸν ἕτερον παρενοχλείτω· ἕκαστος ὅπερ ἡ ψυχὴ βούλεται, τοῦτο καὶ πραττέτω.

[13] HEINICHEN, l. c. Excurs. II. ad II. 68—72. p. 528.

We find that the Cretans continued to worship the old deities of their island, and to venerate the tomb of Zeus, half a century after this legal establishment of Christianity throughout the empire[14]. It was only when the Spaniard Theodosius made himself the blind instrument of orthodox fanatics, and annexed the severest penalties to the celebration of the sacrifices and ceremonies of the old religion, that the corrupted Christianity of the fourth century prevailed. Those who wish not to see penal laws applied to religious opinions, will regret that such unholy aids should have been had recourse to, in order to accelerate the triumph of the Christian faith, which its own truth, and its comparatively tolerant establishment by Constantine, must, soon or late, have caused to spread into every part of the empire[15].

After the Theodosian persecution of the heathens, we hear no more of the tomb of Zeus as an object of reverence to the people of his native island. But, at all events, it seems as if the pomps and glories of the old religion retained, for nearly four centuries after the Christian era, an unrelaxed hold on the convictions and affections of the Cretan people, notwithstanding the labours of Titus, and the elders whom he established among them. And it does not surprise us that Christianity should have failed to take root suddenly and deeply in a mountainous country like Crete; the inhabitants of which, though they must have been pretty free from that vain wisdom and false philosophy, which made the disputants in the schools of Athens turn a deaf ear to the preaching of St Paul, yet, being a nation of mountaineers, would naturally be like the other Pagans of whom we read, and the stubbornness of

[14] JULIUS FIRMICUS, de Error. Prof. Rel. p. 19. A vanis Cretensibus adhuc mortui Jovis tumulus adoratur.

[15] NEANDER'S account of the Theodosian persecution is fuller and more impartial than Mr FALLMERAYER'S, which is briefly given, in very strong language, in his interesting work, Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea waehrend des Mittelalters, p. 113. foll.

whose hearts it was everywhere difficult to overcome[16]. We should also remember that their country was the very stronghold of heathen superstitions: the birth-place, not only of the King of Heaven[17], but of many of its other Deities, so that,

Al tempo degli Dei falsi e bugiardi,

scarcely a fountain, or stream, or glen existed in it, where ancient traditions were not preserved of the time when gods dwelt among the sons and daughters of men.

A well-known couplet of Callimachus accuses the Cretans of being liars, because they asserted that the immortal Zeus had been buried in a tomb, which, as the poet says, was the work of their own hands[18]. I know not why the religious zeal of this learned writer should have taken offence at the Cretan tradition that Zeus was buried in the land of his birth. According to other ancient legends similar fates befel many of the gods. Hermes was interred at Hermopolis, Ares in Thrace, Aphrodite in Cyprus[19], and the tomb of the Theban Dionysos was long shewn at Delphi[20]. It is evident that, if Zeus was not exempted from the common lot of humanity, he could have no fitter resting-place

[16] We know how severe a decree was passed, at an earlier epoch, by the citizens of Lyttos, against the Epicurean subverters of the popular theology: see SUIDAS, v. *Ἐπίκουρος*.

[17] Crete was generally so regarded. Zeus was however also said to have been born in Arcadia, PAUSANIAS, VIII. p. 678. CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Zeus, v. 10. in Messenia, PAUSANIAS, IV. p. 361. in Boeotia, TZETZES and MEURSIUS, on Lycophron, v. 1194. on the Phrygian Ida, SCHOLIAST ON APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, III. 134. (see LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 1047.) and in other places: see LOBECK, l. c. and HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 173.

[18] CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Zeus, 8.

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί.

[19] CLEMENS, Recogn. X. 24. p. 594. Jovis et filiorum ejus sepulcra manifestissime demonstrantur: Mercurii apud Hermopolim, Cypriae Veneris apud Cyprum, Martis in Thracia, Liberi apud Thebas. See LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 573.

[20] TATIAN, c. Gr. VIII. p. 251. CYRIL, c. Jul. X. p. 341. AUGUSTIN, de civ. dei, XVII. 12. EUSTATHIUS, p. 889. 20. LOBECK, l. c.

than in his native island. And his fate was not unusual, even if we view him as the Supreme Ruler of heaven and earth. His father Kronos paid the debt of nature, and was buried at Mount Caucasos[21]: Uranos had perished long before[22]; and, according to the Orphic traditions, those ancient and mighty rulers of the world who preceded him, Phanes and Night, had also endured the common fate of gods and men[23]. Still less reason shall we find for peculiar indignation at the Cretan legend, when we remember that Aeschylus ventured to make Prometheus declare, even before an Athenian audience, that Zeus would very soon be hurled with disgrace from his throne, as his predecessors had been[24].

These considerations are of little avail to shew that the Cretans had worthy notions of the Deity; but they prove that their traditions were like those of every other part of Greece, and that the abuse heaped upon them, on account of what they asserted respecting the tomb of Zeus[25], was not deserved, at all events from heathen writers.

[21] CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA, Hom. v. 23. p. 668. Κρόνου ἐν τοῖς Καυκασίοις ὄρεσι τάφος δείκνυται. Compare PLUTARCH, de Flumin. XIX. p. 1162. c. and LOBECK, l. c. p. 576.

[22] AESCHYLUS, Agam. 162.

Οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας
παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων
οὐδὲν ἂν λέξαι πρὶν ὤν·
ὃς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφυ, τρια-
κτῆρος οἴχεται τυχών.
Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλάζων
τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν.

[23] See the passages collected by LOBECK, Aglaophamus, Vol. I. p. 577.

[24] AESCHYLUS, Prom. 956.

Οὐκ ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐγώ
δισσοὺς τυράννους ἐκπεσόντας ἡσθόμην;
τρίτον δὲ τὸν νῦν κοιρανοῦντ' ἐπόψομαι
αἰσχιστα καὶ τάχιστα.

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, I. 503—507. follows Aeschylus, and, after naming Ophion and Eurynome as the first rulers of snow-clad Olympus, says that they gave way, βίῃ καὶ χερσίν, to Kronos and Rhea. See also POTTER, on Lycophron, 1192.

[25] See CALLIMACHUS, l. c. LUCAN, Pharsal. VIII. 872.

Tam mendax Magni tumulo quam Creta tonantis.

STATIUS,

The uniform veneration shewn to the tomb, and the belief in a yearly miracle, which took place in the cave where Zeus was born[26], acquit the Cretans of the charge of impiety and irreverence towards the God. The credulity of the people, and the craft of those interested in keeping up their superstitions, may perhaps account sufficiently for the phenomenon which used to shew itself in the cavern. Bright fire spontaneously burst forth from it[27], as at the Holy Sepulchre a similar occurrence happens every Easter, even in the age in which we live, and is regarded as a miraculous manifestation of divine power, by the crowd of pious and credulous pilgrims who gaze with awe and ecstasy on the flames[28].

STATIUS, I. Theb. 278.

Placet Ida nocens, mentitaque manes
Creta tuos.

NONNUS, VIII. 117.

Ἦ γὰρ (or Οὐ γὰρ) ἀεὶ παρέμιμνε Διὸς ψευδήμονι τύμβῳ
τερπομένη Κρήτεσσιν, ἐπεὶ πέλον ἠπεροπῆες:

and PHILOSTRATUS, in the Life of Antiochus the Sophist, quoted by MEURSIUS, p. 80.

[26] On this Ἰδαῖον ἄντρον, see DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, II. 61. who compares the interviews between Minos and Zeus, with those between Numa and Egeria; and the other authors quoted by MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 71. and HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 175.

[27] ANTONINUS LIBERALIS, c. XIX. Ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ ἀφωρισμένῳ ὁρᾶται καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος, πλεῖστον ἐκλάμπον ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου πῦρ· τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν ὅτ' ἂν ἐκζέῃ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως αἷμα. Thus also, in the temples of Hierocaesarea and Hypaepa, the priests used, on certain occasions, to recite some verses, and on this, pieces of wood, previously laid on the altar, burst spontaneously into a blaze of fire. PAUSANIAS, V. p. 449. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor, c. LXXVI. Similar phenomena were also produced, by sacerdotal fraud, at Egnatia and elsewhere in Italy: HORACE, Sat. I. 5. 99. PLINY, N. H. II. 107. and likewise in a temple of Dionysos in Macedonia, and in the island of Tenos: see the book, de mirab. ausc. §. 33, (ARISTOT. Tom. II. p. 832. Bekk.) quoted by KORAY, Atakta, Vol. III. p. 330. Some of these miracles, and many others wrought by the priests of Paganism, are enumerated by Professor LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 123.

[28] The yearly miracle exhibited to the Christian pilgrims, "probably the grossest imposture at this moment practised by the impudence of any priesthood on the credulity of any people," is well described by Mr WADDINGTON, The present condition and prospects of the Greek or Oriental Church, p. 72—78. and also by SANDYS, Travailes, p. 134. ed. 1652. THEVENOT, Voyage de Levant, Liv. II. Ch. XLIII. p. 621—627. VAN EGMONT and HEYMAN,

Such is the history of this celebrated sepulchre, which may have been on the summit of Júktas, and

HEYMAN, Travels, Vol. I. Ch. XXIII. p. 354—358. Eng. tr. ed. Lond. 1759. Another element, water, is annually made to perform a miracle, on the same day, in a cistern contained in the acropolis of Demetrias: see LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. IV. p. 376. A still more wonderful aqueous miracle is related by LEO ALLATIUS, de quorund. Graecor. Opinat. p. 171. the scene of which is the salt sea near Mount Athos. On the feast of the Epiphany, Christ's baptism is celebrated by casting into the sea, first a Christ on his cross, and then a cross alone. A hymn is next struck up, and, as it is singing, all the waters of the sea *become fresh*, and remain so until the hymn has been thrice repeated, when they again return to their natural saltness. Aquae illae salsae, per totum illud littus gustatu dulcescunt, ad bibendum suavissimae factae; finito tertium hymno, in pristinam salsitudinem redeunt. Quare omnes turmatim in mare ingressi, delicatuli cyathis, rem ita esse, experiuntur; (thus at Jerusalem the pilgrims still find that the sacred fire *is innocuous*, and does not burn them;) alii alio modo aquas potantes, haesitantibus factum praedicant, et aquas ad gustandum propinant, repentinam et variam aquarum immutationem tam brevi tempore admirantes, et singulis in annis Christi Baptisma tanto miraculo celebrantes. The fire-miracle of Jerusalem was unknown till the age of the caliph Arun-al-Raschid and the emperor Charlemagne: see MOSHEIM, de lumin. sanct. sepulch. §. X. where its origin is well accounted for, and KORAY, *περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἁγίου φωτός*, p. 339. On the history of the sepulchre may also be consulted the Dissertations of ORTLOB and THILO, in the Thesaur. Theolog. P. II. pp. 252—261. ed. Amst. 1702. When the supposed celestial fire made its appearance, a hymn used to be chanted by the Patriarch, in the presence of the assembled multitude: see the anonymous Author quoted by LEO ALLATIUS, de quorund. Graecor. Opinat. p. 180. *Ἐξεφώνησεν οὖν ὁ πατριάρχης ὡς εὐχαριστίαν τοῦτον τὸν ὕμνον. Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης, ἀθανάτου πατρὸς οὐρανίου, ἁγίου μάκαρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἐλθόντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλίου δύσιν ἰδόντες φῶς ἑσπερινόν, ὑμνοῦμεν πατέρα, υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα θεοῦ. Ἄξιος εἶ πᾶσι καιροῖς ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς αἰσίαις, υἱὲ θεοῦ, ζωὴν ὁ διδούς. διὸ ὁ κόσμος σὲ δοξάζει.* The following is a metrical version:

Joyous light of holy splendour,
Sent from Father and from Son,
We our lowly homage render
To thy blaze, ere day is done.

Let us, on the flame while gazing,
Which illumes this holy shrine,
Loud in song our voices raising,
Praise the Trinity Divine.

Thou are worthiest of honour,
Son of God, throughout all time:
Therefore, life's eternal donor,
Thou art praised in every clime.

There

must have been somewhere hereabouts. Little as I found at this spot to repay me for the trouble of the ascent, I had at all events the pleasure of an extensive view over the whole plain of the Kástron. Dhía lies nearly to the north: and to the north-east is pointed out to me the direction of the village of Khersónesos, and in the mountains to the east of us I learn that there is a place called Lýttos, where, no doubt, I shall find remains of the celebrated Dorian city. Our view is bounded to the west by the mountains, Strómbolo, Khruseanótika-Livádia, and Amurghiéles.

On the eastern side of the mountain, and about a hundred paces from its summit, I found considerable remains of ancient walls. The construction is chiefly of very large stones, among which a good many small ones were intermixed. Some of the latter have fallen out in places. These fragments seem to offer a good specimen of the so-called first cyclopean style. They are four or five in number, and the whole length of ground, which they partially cover, is between four and five hundred paces, of which not more than fifty paces are occupied by the actually existing remains. It is, however, evident that the old walls extended all round the summit, except where, as on its western side, it is nearly a perpendicular precipice. Above this wall I observed, scattered over the ground, many pieces of ancient pottery, which, as well as the wall, would rather serve to indicate an abode of the living than a resting-place of the dead.

On descending down the side of the mountain, we found in the ground, about half way down, a hole, the diameter of which is twelve feet, and its depth about ninety or a hundred feet. As far as I can judge by visible appearances from the outside, it leads into a cavern; which, since the rock is limestone, is probably

There is a strange observation, with reference to MATTHEW, XXVIII. 2–3. at p. 335. of the same treatise of Koray: it is, ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ὡμοίαζε τὴν ἀστραπήν, ἀκολουθεῖ ὅτι καὶ ὅλος ὁ τάφος ἐφωτίσθη.

full of beautiful stalactites, and is certainly as yet unexplored.

As we set out to return from the so-called tomb of Zeus, on the summit of the mountain, I saw Maniás carefully pick up some insignificant fragments of stone, and when I asked him why he took them, he replied that he meant to keep them, as memorials of his visit "to the Holy Sepulchre of the ancient Greeks," εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τάφον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, "for which," he added, "no doubt they fought formerly, as the Christians did afterwards, for Jerusalem."

I cannot leave Arkhánes without turning, for a moment, from the ancient to the modern Greeks. The guide who had conducted us to this spot, together with three or four other peasants, whom curiosity, excited by so singular an event as my arrival, had induced to accompany us, left us on our return to the village; and, when I wanted to remunerate him for his trouble, he was no where to be found. Such events as this happened to me frequently in Crete, and, sometimes, when I wished to recompense a man for a service which he had rendered me, he would ask, with all imaginable simplicity, why I offered him money: the idea that he would earn any reward by what he meant as a mere act of civility to a stranger, probably the first European he had ever seen among his native hills, had plainly never entered his mind.

The Venetian aqueduct, which I saw below the village yesterday, also runs along the side of our path for about a mile after our departure from Arkhánes. A second mile brings us to the highest point of our road. We now begin to descend, and as we wind round the southern escarpment of Mount Júktas, come in sight of the snow-clad mountains which bound the plain of Megálo-Kastron to the west. Our road, or rather path, now runs across ranges of low hills; and, in less than two hours after leaving Arkhánes, we arrive at the village called Kaní-Kastéli.

The word Kastéli here, as elsewhere, denotes the existence of a ruined middle-age fortress on the spot. I ascended to the summit of the remarkable hill on which it was situated. An old priest, with a venerable white beard, served as my guide to the remains. He spoke of "the Turk," whom he called, in good polemical phraseology, "the forerunner of Antichrist[29]": I should rather have expected to hear him described by the old Papás as Antichrist himself, than as his forerunner.

I had been told, before leaving the Kástron, of the Rhóka which I ought to see at Kaní-Kastéli[30]. My reader must remember that *rocca* means a castle or fortress[31], as in Dante's "Sicura quasi rocca in alto monte." The appellation bestowed on this castle by the Venetians[32] is therefore still possessed by its site, for my old guide tells me that the loftiest summit is called the Rhóka.

The space contained within the walls of the fortress is considerable, and includes two rocky summits, one to which the Papás has conducted me, and another, not quite so high, a little to the south-east. A single line of walls runs round them both, but this loftier summit was also fortified by an inner wall. After passing the outer line, in ascending, we observed remains of a church. I also noticed two cisterns. There are some slight remains of buildings between the two summits.

I have no doubt but that the Rhóka here is the Castello Temenos of the Venetians, the foundation of which, however, ascends to the year 961, when the Cretans, under their Saracenic leaders, were vanquished by the forces of the Greek Emperor. Nicephorus

[29] Ὁ Πρόδρομος τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου. MICHAEL PSELLUS, writing in the eleventh century, says, de operat. daemon. p. 25. Καιρὸς ἐφέστηκε νῦν, ὅτε βιώσουσιν ἄνθρωποι χεῖρον καὶ τῶν θηρίων· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου κράτος ἐγγὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἥκει.

[30] Ἀπὸ τζὴ Ἀρχάναις εἶναι ἔξι μίλια εἰς τὸ Κανί-Καστέλι, ὅπου εὑρίσκεται ἡ Ῥόκα, were the words of my informant.

[31] Properly its meaning is rather more general: see BOCCACCIO, in the Vocab. della Crusca, v. Rocca.

[32] Rocca.

Phocas, the victorious commander of the Byzantine army, determined to build a fort "on a lofty and steep hill at no very great distance from the city." He was probably recalled to Constantinople by the Emperor Romanus, before he had succeeded in effecting the pacification of the island, although he had stormed and plundered its principal city[33]. He built this fortress, since "the place seemed safe and adapted for a stronghold, being separated from the neighbouring district on each side by precipices and ravines, and having constant springs of fresh water on its summit." When the fortress was built, "he placed in it a sufficient garrison, and called the city Temenos."

This castle became celebrated in the Venetian history of the island, as the place of refuge of the Duke of Candia, when Marco Sanudo, the Duke of Naxos, boldly rebelled against Venice, and obtained for a while possession of the principal cities of Crete, being abetted in his struggle by the majority of the inhabitants of the island[34]. It was also one of the old castles which the Proveditor Foscarini, in the year 1576, advised the Venetian Senate to fortify and garrison, when the Turks were supposed to be on the point of making a descent on Crete. The Proveditor, who spent several months in the island, and speaks as an eye-witness of all that he describes, mentions Temenos as famous for its antiquity, and adds, "è un monte fra diversi monti, e tanto lontano per interposizione di profondissime valli, che non può esser da alcuna parte offeso. Ha due cima —lassano in mezzo una valle dando forma alla fortezza d'un pomo granato aperto: della qual la corona par che sia la parte più alta sopra; ma, *vi era anticamente una rocca* che si vede hoggidi anco con molte maravigliose cose."

[33] He is said, by LEO DIACONUS, II. 8. to have returned to Constantinople, *τὴν νῆσον ἐξημερώσας ἅπασαν, Ἀρμενίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ συγκλύδων ἀνδρῶν φατρίας ἐνοικισάμενος.*

[34] FOSCARINI, della Letteratura Italiana, in CORNEL. II. p. 243.

The descriptions of Leo Diaconus and Foscarini seem sufficiently to identify this spot with Temenos[35].

Although it is at the most doubtful, notwithstanding the expression of Foscarini, whether any ancient city ever occupied the precise site of this Temenos, yet it is certain that Thenae was somewhere in our immediate neighbourhood. Callimachus fixes the situation of Thenae as close on the Omphalian plain[36]. It appears, moreover, from Stephanus of Byzantium[37], that Thenae was near Cnossus. From Diodorus of Sicily[38], we learn that the city in question, or rather the Omphalion which was very near it, was in the neighbourhood of the river Triton. Thus all these testimonies agree with any site which may be found any where in the neighbourhood, and somewhat to the east of the river. One argument in favour of this place as the ancient site would be, that its importance in the middle ages is a sufficient reason for the disappearance of every vestige, which one might have hoped to find of more ancient times.

The elevation of this acropolis is sufficient to bring into our view the northern sea, part of Dhía, and the plain about the Kástron, the walls of which are intercepted by the loftier peak of Mount Júktas. Below us, to the north-west, is the village of Kaní-Kastéli.

[35] CORONELLI, Isolario &c., mentions Temenos as one of the *ancient* cities of the island, and says that it had preserved its ancient name "et in gran parte l'antico splendore." He describes it as situated on a lofty mountain twelve miles from Candia.

[36] CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Zeus, 42.

Εὔτε Θενὰς ἀπέλειπεν, ἐπὶ Κνωσσοῖο φέρουσα,
Ζεῦ πάτερ ἡ νύμφη σέ, Θεναὶ δ' ἔσαν ἐγγύθι Κνωσσοῦ,
τουτάκι τοι πέσε, δαῖμον, ἄπ' ὀμφαλός· ἔνθεν ἐκεῖνο
Ὀμφάλιον μετέπειτα πέδον καλέουσι Κύδωνες.

[37] STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, Ὀμφάλιον, τόπος Κρήτης, πλησίον Θενῶν καὶ Κνωσσοῦ.

[38] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 70. Φερομένου μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Διὸς) νηπίου, φασὶν ἀποπεσεῖν τὸν ὀμφαλὸν περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τρίτωνα. He adds that the place was called Omphalos, and the surrounding plain Ὀμφάλιον. The place Omphalos is also recorded by the SCHOLIAST ON NICANDER, Alexipharm. 7. See MEURSIUS, p. 64.

Its shape recalls to mind the form of an ancient Greek theatre, the houses here occupying the places of the seats, and looking down, towards the west, on the river, which is called Platypérama, but changes its name to Ghiófiro, as it approaches the sea.

This is the most considerable stream of the plain to the west of Megálo-Kástron, and is probably the ancient Triton. Athene is said to have been born at its source, where a temple sacred to her still existed in the time of Diodorus of Sicily[39]. It need hardly be added that she was supposed to be indebted to this river for her name Tritogeneia. It is, however, more probable that the real derivation of the epithet, in the Homeric poems, is from a stream called Triton in Boeotia[40]. Mueller has shewn beyond all doubt that the connexion of Libya and its Tritonian lake, with the wanderings of the Argonauts, arose long after Homer's time[41]: so that, in the Homeric age, nothing can have been known of the legend recorded by Herodotus[42], and followed by Aeschylus, where he speaks of the Libyan Triton as Athene's natal stream[43].

We find another river in Arcadia, which was likewise described by local tradition as the birth-place of the Tritonian Goddess[44].

[39] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 72. p. 388. ed. Wess. Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὴν Αθηνᾶν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἐκ Διὸς ἐν ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ γεννηθῆναι· διὸ καὶ Τριτογένειαν ἐπονομασθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι περὶ τὰς πηγὰς ταύτας ἱερὸν ἄγιον τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῆς ὑπάρξαι μυθολογοῦσι.

[40] SCHOLIAST ON APOLLON. RHOD. IV. 1311. MUELLER, Orchomenos, p. 213. and p. 355. A temple was erected to her at Alalcomenae, the place where she was said to have been born: STRABO, IX. p. 413. PAUSANIAS, IX. p. 777. Sir WILLIAM GELL, Itinerary of Greece, p. 151. supposes that he found the site of both the town and temple: compare Colonel LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. II. p. 135, fol.

[41] MUELLER, Orchomenos, l. c. VOELCKER, Homerische Geographie, §. 68.

[42] HERODOTUS, IV. 180. PAUSANIAS, I. p. 36. EUSTATHIUS, on Dionysius Perieget. 267.

[43] AESCHYLUS, Eumen. 292.

[44] At Aliphera in Arcadia, where there was a celebrated colossal statue of her. PAUSANIAS, VIII. p. 653. POLYBIUS, IV. 78. LEAKE'S Travels in the

The birth of Athene is nowhere described in the Homeric poems; but later writers, for instance, Stesichorus[45], Hesiod[46], the author of one of the Homeric Hymns[47], and Pindar[48], sing of her springing all-armed from the head of Zeus. This account of her birth has also been made to supply an etymology of the word Tritogeneia by Hesychius, Photius, Suidas, Eustathius[49], and other authors[50], who tell us that an old word *trito* meant a head.

Pallas, the youthful playmate of Athene, to whom her name was afterwards applied, is said by Apollodorus to have been the daughter of Triton[51].

I staid some time in this village after descending from the Rhóka. The inhabitants of these parts of the island, where the Mohammedan population is nu-

the Morea, Vol. II. pp. 71—79. Another remarkable Tritonian lake existed in Thrace, and is mentioned by OVID, Met. XV. 356. VIBIUS SEQUESTER, de Flumin. p. 27. and Oberlinus, pp. 285–6. The name Triton was also given to the Nile: see PLINY, N. H. v. 10. LYCOPHRON, 119. and 576. SCHOLIAST ON APOLLONIUS RHOD. IV. 26. and MUELLER, Orchom. p. 356.

[45] THE SCHOLIAST ON APOLL. RHOD. IV. 1310. says, Πρῶτος Στησίχορος ἔφη σὺν ὅπλοις ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἀναπηδῆσαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, so that he makes both Hesiod and the Homeric Hymnist, as Heyne has observed, posterior to Stesichorus. See KLEINE, on Stesich. Fr. LXXVI. p. 127.

[46] HESIOD, Theogon. 888.

[47] THE HYMN TO ATHENE, v. 4.

Τριτογενῆ, τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγείνατο μητίετα Ζεὺς
σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς.

[48] PINDAR, Ol. VII. 65.

[49] HESYCHIUS in τριτώ. PHOTIUS, in Lexic. p. 603. 16. ed. Porson, Photius, like Suidas, has the form τρίτων, not τριτώ. His words are ἢ ἐπεὶ τρίτωνα τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἀθαμᾶνες λέγουσι. Hesychius also attributes τριτὼ to the Athamanes. Suidas speaks of it as used by the Athenians. The passage of EUSTATHIUS is on Homer, IL. Δ. p. 504. 27. He assigns the usage of the word τριτὼ to the Cretans. Again on IL. Θ. p. 696. 37. he says, τριτὼ γάρ, φασὶ, κατὰ γλῶσσαν Κρητῶν ἡ κεφαλή.

[50] Collected by VOSSIUS and ALBERTI, on Hesychius, (Tom. II. pp. 1421–2. ed. Albert.) to whose examples may be added TZETZES, on Lycophron, 519. (see Mueller, Orchom. p. 355.) and DIACONUS, on Hesiod's Theogony, v. 886. seqq. in Poet. Graec. Min. Tom. III. p. 491. ed. Gaisf.

[51] APOLLODORUS, III. 12. 3. and HEYNE, Not. p. 757. EUSTATHIUS, on Odyss. M. p. 1714. mentions Triton as the father of Scylla.

merous, and which are near the chief city, did not join the Greeks of western Crete in their attempt to shake off the Turkish yoke till more than a year after the outbreaking of the revolt. A very tragical scene occurred at Kaní-Kastéli, while it was still inhabited only by a few Mohammedans, and a peaceful and submissive Christian population.

On the morning of Good Friday, in the year 1822, the Greeks of Kaní-Kastéli assembled to celebrate the usual religious service of the day, in the church of their village. Two papádhes, a father and son, officiated. Three Mohammedans of the village thought the occasion too good to be let pass, and went well armed to the place of Christian worship. Since the Greeks of the district of Témenos, at that time, had none of them joined their correligionaries of Sfakiá and the western parts of the island, they were all unarmed. One of the three Mohammedans took his post outside the church-door. The other two entered it and shot thirty men dead on the spot. Five others were wounded but recovered. Two women also received severe wounds, inflicted by accident, for the Mohammedans meant only to massacre the men. One of these women died the next day. The young papás escaped through a window behind the altar. It would seem as if, from the moment when the partial insurrection of the mountaineers in the west took place, the Mohammedans had perpetrated every cold-blooded atrocity and cruelty that was likely to drive all the Christians of the island to make common cause with the Sfakians, who, if they died, at all events did so with arms in their hands, and were not butchered like sheep, as any Christian might be in all the other parts of Crete.

We left this place before sunset to go to the monastery of Haghio Ghéorghio Epáno-Síphi, which is about four miles hence, to the south-south-east beyond the small Mohammedan village of Karkadhiótissa. We did not experience the kindness of the Hegúmenos and

Kalógheri till after sunset. Their attentions were unremitting, and their generous hospitality soon furnished forth a table, which would not have disgraced the hall of a wealthier and more learned society. Mutton from their own flock, turkey, which, after a day's ride among these mountains, one cannot but think tenderer and more delicious than was ever tasted in civilized Europe, pilav, milk, salad, olives in oil, cheese, and almonds, formed the various dishes of a meal, which seemed to us luxurious; and which, since we were now lodged with the regular clergy, failed not to be accompanied by plenty of excellent wine[52]. After this our counterpanes were spread on the floor, for the monastery is not yet sufficiently recovered from the effects of the revolution to possess beds or sheets, and we were soon in that happy state of utter unconsciousness which speedily follows a long day's ride, and an hospitable reception.

[52] SAVARY, Lettres sur la Grèce, p. 200. is eloquent in speaking of the hospitality and good cheer which he found in this monastery. He says of their honey: "Ce miel transparent comme le cristal, étoit délicieux. Aussi parfumé que les fleurs, aussi délicat que les meilleures confitures, il flattoit également le goût et l'odorat."

MONASTERY OF ST GEORGE.

CHAPTER XIV.

MONASTERY OF ST GEORGE. SITE OF ARCADIA NOT AT THE VILLAGE OR MONASTERY OF ARKADHI. VENERATO. MASSACRE OF UNARMED CHRISTIANS. HAGHIO MYRO, THE PROBABLE SITE OF RHAUCOS. SARKO AND ITS CAVERN.

March 7.

THIS monastery consists of the Hegúmenos, six patéres, two kalógheri, and two servants: before the revolution its numbers were twenty patéres, thirty kalógheri, and about fifty youths and servants. They possessed ten metókhis, the produce of which was mostly corn, though wine and oil enough for the consumption of the monastery were also supplied by them. The society has now only three pairs of oxen. The old

Hegúmenos complains of the unhappy situation of the monastery, in a district inhabited almost solely by Mohammedans. Cypresses and the palm-tree are seen in and about this pleasing retreat from the busy hum of men.

Qui da' cipressi è cinto ombroso chiostro,
E di palme il bel colle ancor verdeggia.

I learnt that Arkádhi, which is about three miles southward, is a very small Mohammedan village, and I could hear nothing of any remains of antiquity as existing there. I had with me an extract from the Peutinger Table, by which the ancient city of Arcadia appears to have lain more than forty miles to the east of Cnossos, and therefore I was not led to entertain any great hope of finding it near this village of Arkádhi, although I read[1], that "north-east of the ruins of Gortys is a spot named Arcadioti, which, from the similarity of name, and the vestiges of antiquity which may be traced in its vicinity[2], corresponds, doubtless, with the site of Arcadia, or Arcades, a Cretan city named by several writers."

Had I entertained high hopes of finding traces of the ancient city, they would all have been disappointed. The village has suffered severely during the revolution, and only five of its houses are now occupied: the people are all Mohammedans. Not a single stone can be seen, either in or near it, which may not have been laid within the memory of men who are living; and I could not even hear of an ancient coin.

Tournefort, wandering still more incautiously than Dr Cramer from the positive topographical indications of the old authors, no sooner arrives in "the most beau-

[1] In Dr CRAMER's Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 385.

[2] It is much to be regretted, that when a fact so important as the existence of vestiges of antiquity, in any given place, is stated, the authority, on which the statement depends, should not be given. I have not had the good fortune to meet with any account of any such remains, and Dr Cramer gives no reference to support his assertion.

tiful and the richest convent of the island," at least fifty miles west of Cnossos, than he takes it for all that remains of the ancient city of which, as it appeared to him, it had preserved the name. Sieber, too, thinks that "without all doubt" that monastery occupies the site of the ancient city[3]. This supposition is too absurd to need any refutation; and nothing but the far superior scholarship of the learned author of the "Description of Ancient Greece" would induce me to detain my reader with an examination of a point, on which his views are almost as untenable and ungrounded as those of Tournefort and Sieber.

It will be very easy to shew that Arcadia must have been somewhere in the modern eparkhía of Mirabéllo, or on its confines in the direction of Rhizókastro or Hierápetra. I have already mentioned the evidence of the Peutinger Table. We know, moreover, from Pliny[4], that Arcadia was in a district abounding in rivers and fountains, a description which cannot be applied to the country near Arkádhi, but is applicable to many parts of the mountains about Lassíthi, and to the whole of Rhizókastro. Lastly, the diocese of the Greek bishop of Arkadhía[5] does not approach this village of Arkádhi, but contains the district of Rhizókastro, and borders on the mountains of Lassíthi and Mirabéllo. More might be said about Arcadia, but while in this village we are on ground so far distant from the probable site of that ancient city, that it seems undesirable now to dwell any longer on the question.

We leave Arkádhi at half-past ten, and, after winding round a chain of hills, which run nearly east and west, and cut off Júktas from our view, we arrive at the village of Galéne, where we are still in the eparkhía of Témenos, and are said to be three miles

[3] SIEBER's Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. II. p. 263. "Arcadia—ohne allen Zweifel auf der quellenreichen erhabenen Flaeche des Klosters Arcadi am Fusse des Berges Ida."

[4] PLINY, N. H. XXXI. 30.

[5] See above, p. 206.

from Kaní-kastéli. The summit of Strómbolo is N.N.W. from this place, while the loftiest snow-capt mountain is nearly due west. We crossed low ridges, and, a few minutes before twelve, came to a river, the western bank of which we followed, and, after crossing two tributary streamlets, pursued the valley of the second, and, in twenty minutes, came in sight of Veneráto, the only village I have yet found in Crete with a purely Italian name.

The ground which we have seen, in our ride from the monastery this morning, is chiefly uncultivated. The little that is made any use of is near this village, and is corn-land. The grass grows so on all the paths which we have seen and traversed to-day, that it is difficult, even for Captain Maniás, to find the way: and he made a villager accompany him, once or twice, for about half a mile. The only way in which roads, or rather paths, are kept in existence in Crete, and, in fact, in most parts of the Turkish empire, is by those who walk or ride along them, and thus they naturally disappear when people are not left to traverse them[6].

A few minutes after we came in sight of Veneráto, we reached a little metókhi of the monastery of Hághios Gheórghios Epáno-Síphes, with a church dedicated to the Holy Mother of God[7]: from it Dhafnídhes is more than a mile to the north, and Veneráto, of which my companion made a sketch, is above us and due west. A quarter of an hour's ascent from the metókhi brings us to the village. The ground about it is tolerably cultivated: it produces chiefly corn, although patches of olive-trees are seen here and there. Before the revolution, Veneráto had a considerable population: the villagers say nearly two hundred houses: its only inhabitants now are fifteen Christian families and one Mohammedan. A small party of mounted Arnauts is quartered in this

[6] Captain Maniás kept exclaiming this morning, that all the δρόμοι were ἐρημασμένοι, in consequence of the depopulation caused by the war.

[7] Τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου.

village: they have been here more than a year. We may easily conceive what is the feeling of the peasants towards these idle and licentious Albanians, who have nothing to do except to attend to their horses, smoke their pipes, and visit the cottage of any villager when he is absent, as is usually the case during the greater part of the day-time.

Veneráto is one of the many places where scenes were beheld, at the outbreaking of the Greek revolution in 1821, which rivalled those exhibited, on the same occasion, in the large cities of the Turkish empire. Parties of infuriated Moslems, issuing from the walls of Megálo-Kástron, scoured the country in every direction, and massacred all the male Christians they could find. A small band of them arrived in this village: most of the Christians, on the first rumour of their approach, had fled for safety to the lofty mountain-summits: twenty-seven men were however found, all of whom immediately lost their lives. This was on the Friday, the day after the great massacre within the Kástron. Women and children were not at all molested; but every man who was either met on the way-side, or could be found in the villages, though wholly unarmed and defenceless, was immediately shot! The object of this cruel and brutal butchery was, no doubt, to intimidate the Cretan Greeks, and, by atrocities rivalling those of Constantinople itself, to prevent them from following the example set by their correligionaries in Wallachia and the Moréa, in an attempt to shake off the Turkish yoke; or, to speak more correctly, as far as Crete is concerned, the yoke of their fellow-countrymen who professed Mohammedanism; for it was chiefly those gentlemen who tyrannized over and oppressed the unfortunate Christians of the island.

We leave Veneráto at half-past two, and, in a few minutes, cross the high road[8] between Megálo-Kástron

[8] Called, as every high-road is by the Greeks, *βασιλικὸς δρόμος*.

and the plain of Messará. At fifty-five minutes after two we pass Síva, which, like almost every other village, is in ruins: it has only about ten houses standing. At Síva we dismount, and, after descending rapidly for seven minutes, ford the stream which flows through this valley to the northern sea, and across which a bridge is erected a little lower down, under the village of Dhafnídhes. Our ascent on the western side of the river is as steep as the descent has been, and lasts for nearly half an hour, after which time we arrive at the village of Hághio Mýro, celebrated throughout the island for the excellence of its wine. Of its present reduced population of seventy families only three are Mohammedan. Before the revolution it contained two hundred houses.

For some time I knew not whether the name of this village should be written Míro, Méro or Mýro. I have, however, at length met with the holy person from whose name its appellation is derived, and find, to my great satisfaction, that he was a Cretan, and is not only in undisputed possession of the titles of Bishop, Saint and Worker-of-Miracles, but is also called a "holy martyr." It is, however, admitted that he died a natural and quiet death. He is said to have flourished in the reign of Decius. Rhaucos, his native place, was his episcopal seat, and, in an ecclesiastical notice of him, the city is spoken of as situated near Cnossos[9].

It therefore seems probable that this village is on the site of Rhaucos, which may certainly well have exchanged its ancient heathen name for that of its "Bishop, Saint and Martyr." In England, the Holy Neot be-

[9] LAMBECIUS, in Catalog. Bibliothec. Vindob. Lib. VIII. 261. (in Codex XIV.) which contains the Greek menology for August. Μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ θ'. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Μύρωνος, ἐπισκόπου Κρήτης. ὁ ἅγιος καὶ θαυματουργός, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἱεράρχης, Μύρων, γεννᾶται ἐν Κρήτῃ τῇ νήσῳ, ἐν Ῥαυκίᾳ τῇ πόλει πλησίον Κνωσσοῦ, ἐπὶ Δεκίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐξ εὐγενῶν φὺς γονέων, κ.τ.λ. He is also received in the Roman Martyrology on the 8th August, "In Creta Sancti Myronis Episcopi, miraculis clari."

stowed his name, not only on a village in Cornwall, but also on Eynesbury, in Huntingdonshire, which place became possessed of the venerated body of the saint, about a hundred years after his death[10].

A story told in Aelian seems only explicable on the supposition that there were two cities of the same name Rhaucos in Crete[11]. The existence of two places so called in the island, would naturally give rise, among the ancient Greeks, to some such legend as that which he mentions. We have other pairs of cities known by one single name in Crete, as, for instance, the two called Kisamos, the two called Minoa, and the two called Khersonesos. I therefore think it probable, that this spot was *one* of the sites called Rhaucos. If so, its proximity to Mount Ida should perhaps induce us to consider it as the more ancient city of the two mentioned in the legendary account of Aelian.

On leaving Hághio Mýro we begin to descend, and in eighteen minutes reach Pýrgo, a village of twenty-five houses, having passed no less than three fountains by the road-side between the two places. From Pýrgo we go on descending for fifteen minutes more, and then cross a stream near a water-mill. This is the river which was visible from the Rhóka, and which, as we have above seen, is, in all probability, the Triton of the ancients. After an ascent of a quarter of an hour we reach the summit of the ridge, and soon see below us, a little to our left, the village of Sárko embowered among olive-trees. It is so quiet, retired and beautiful a spot, that one would fain believe that it must have been exempted from the horrors and devastation of the war: but, in a few minutes, the black ruins of half its former houses are discerned, and sufficiently prove that it has shared the common lot of every other village in the island.

[10] GORHAM, History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St Neot's, pp. 47—53. On the names of towns derived from local saints, see above, pp. 180–181.

[11] AELIAN, N. A. XVII. 35. and JACOBS, Vol. II. p. 585.

The olive-trees of Sárko were not, however, burnt; and a cavern which exists in the mountain to the west of the village, and the entrance of which could not be approached and filled up from above like those of Melidhóni or Vaffé, served as a place of refuge and security for the villagers, whenever Ate "cried havock, and let slip the dogs of war," against the Christians of this neighbourhood.

We took up our abode with a brother of the Archbishop's Oekonómos, who is himself a native of Sárko, and who had promised, before I left Megálo-Kástron, to meet me here. He had already arrived, and, since he is as intelligent as he is obliging, I spent some very agreeable hours with him, learning much from him, as I had also done in Megálo-Kástron, about the present condition, ecclesiastical as well as civil, of the island, and respecting the principal events of the ten years' war.

March 8.

The entrance of the cavern of Sárko is in a valley to the west of the village. We were less than a quarter of an hour in reaching it. The Oekonómos did not feel any wish to explore its recesses, and his ample clerical robes would have suffered severely had he entered it with us. We were in the cavern about three hours. I made no measurements of its dimensions, as we descended through its dark passages, and will therefore begin my description from the deepest and most distant part to which we penetrated.

We found ourselves, at last, in an apartment nearly circular, and about thirty feet in diameter: the ground is partly covered with water, which prevents me from attempting to explore some openings seen in the rocks at the sides of the chamber, as might in all probability be done in the months of July or August. Returning, we leave this chamber by a passage fifty feet long, and so narrow that there is only room for one person to pass at a time: it is low throughout, and in many places

is not above *two* feet high: the entrance into it from the apartment which we have left is so small that I could only just pass: water drips from the upper part of this passage very copiously, and we are thoroughly drenched as we crawl along its tedious length.

Permanat aquarum
Liquidus humor, et uberibus flent omnia guttis.

We emerge from this disagreeable chink in a room about twenty-two feet wide, from the opposite end of which a gap in the rock admits us into another apartment longer than the last, but not above fifteen feet high: its length running N.E. and S.W. We pass out at its north-eastern end, and soon find ourselves in a room eighty feet long, twelve feet wide and from six to twenty feet high: its length runs N.E. and S.W. We leave it by an opening on our left at the north-eastern end, and next find ourselves in a passage ten feet wide, from six to fifteen feet high, and nearly fifty feet long. The ground here rises considerably, so that we begin sensibly to ascend nearer to the realms of day. A narrow pass next brings us into an apartment or passage about thirty feet long and ten wide: the condition of the sand on the ground here shews that in the winter the water must flow in a stream down into the depths from which we are ascending. At the eastern corner of this passage is a small room, fifteen feet high, twenty feet long and eleven feet wide, and at the end of it we have to clamber up rocks which are so nearly perpendicular that if they were not very rugged, it would be impossible to pass them without a ladder.

We are now in a long passage in which we observe several turnings, although *in descending* these various chambers have all a common direction so that no one could miss the way. At length we began to feel uncertain about the path which we had taken: nevertheless we kept ascending, the ground being steep nearly all the way, for about one hundred and thirty feet, when

we saw a continuation of the cavern, leading to the left, the appearance of which was so new to us all that we were at once satisfied of our being in a terra incognita, a discovery far from satisfactory: and which reminded me of the well-known words both of a Greek and a Roman poet[12]. To increase the annoyance, the pitchy smoke of all the torches, carried by the peasants who accompanied me, became so oppressive, as it rose up in these higher and more confined regions into which we had ascended, that, when we now remained for a minute in deliberation as to what should be done, we found the atmosphere which immediately began to surround us one by which we should soon be suffocated. I alone of the party had a wax candle left; but still thought it well to order all the torches to be immediately extinguished. After ascertaining which man of the party was supposed to be best acquainted with the cavern, I bade him lead the way back, and go on descending until he should recognize some known point.

Our situation was by no means enviable, for, even on returning to a spacious part of the cave, where we should be able to use the torches, we should not have light enough to last for an hour under any circumstances; and it was plain that, when once in the dark, we should not be able even to move without incurring the risk of some serious accident. Had I not been accompanied by married villagers of Sárko, and had not the worthy Oekonómos been on the spot, the situation of my artist and myself would have been one of imminent danger; for the superstitious fears of the Greeks would most likely have left us to die of starvation. They would, in all probability, have supposed, that the Prince of Darkness had seized us, as impertinent and unlicensed trespassers within the frontiers of his

[12] AESCHYLUS, Pers. 686.

Οἱ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοί
λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθιέναι:

and VIRGIL, Aen. VI. 126.

kingdom. Doubtless, before trusting myself "all' alto passo," I ought to have exclaimed with Dante:

> Perchè venirvi? o chi 'l concede?
> Io non Enea, io non Paolo sono:
> Me degno a ciò nè io nè altri il crede.

But I felt sure that the Oekonómos would not leave us many hours without coming to see what had befallen us; and it was certain that, by returning to the place of the great and nearly perpendicular descent, we should be found by those who might come to restore us to the upper world; so that the danger by which we were threatened, was merely that of having to pass six or eight hours, after considerable bodily exertion, without food, in a humid and dark cavern, a few hundred feet below the earth's surface.

We retraced our steps down the passage, which we should never have entered had we not missed our way, and, a moment after we had taken a turn at the end of it, we found ourselves, to our great delight, in a known region: we were now, as I was assured by the Greeks, in no further danger of failing to retrace our steps to the cavern's mouth, and I recommenced my measurements. We proceeded to the end of this passage, which runs to the eastward, and is forty-four feet long, and, on leaving it, entered another, in which there is a considerable ascent for about 180 feet: the width of the cave here is twenty feet: its height varies from six to twenty feet. The sandy ground of the greater part of the cavern, is now no longer continued: and we have rugged and bare rocks both around us and under our feet[18]. The cave here suddenly rises to so great a height that our lights do not at all enable me to conjecture its dimensions: we still go in a north-easterly direction for twelve or fifteen paces. The whole of this apartment is very lofty, but the rocks near the ground

[18] Throughout the cavern are seen attempts at the formation of both stalactites and stalagmites, but none of them are very successful.

close together in such a way that they leave only a narrow passage through them, although the cavern is so lofty and spacious around us on every side.

A few paces more, after we had squeezed through the pass, brought us to a change in the direction of the cavern, and we again saw the blessed light of heaven. The perpendicular rocks, up which we had clambered on leaving the entrance-cavern, were only fifty feet from us: we gladly put out our disgusting torches, bade adieu to the recesses of the cave, and effected our descent, of about eighteen feet, over the rugged rocks in question. Only one person at a time can clamber either up or down this place, and it therefore follows, that the Christians of the neighbourhood, whenever they took refuge within the cavern, felt themselves to be lodged within an impregnable fortress. A single man, with a long pike, might alone have defended the pass.

The diameter of this entrance-cavern, within which this perpendicular ascent is found, is about thirty feet: the rocks, however, retire on every side as they rise from the ground; and thus they form a very ample canopy over head.

Near the mouth of the cavern are the walls of many cottages, which were erected and occupied by the Christians of Sárko during the war. The proximity of Sárko to the principal city exposed its inhabitants to an unexpected attack of the Turks at any moment; and they thus lived, for a long time, at the very entrance of their impregnable fortress.

Early in November 1822 the three Pashás of Crete, Lutflá-pashá of Khaniá, Osmán-pashá of Rhíthymnos, and the Seraskier of the whole island, Sheríf-pashá of Megálo-Kástron, were encamped in the villages near Sárko. Khassán-pashá, the general of the Albanian forces sent by Mehmét-Alí, was also co-operating with them, his head-quarters being at Veneráto. Osmán-pashá and Lutflá-pashá entered Sárko with a few hundred Cretan Musulmans, and many of the unarmed

villagers surrendered to them, professing their obedience to the Sultan. It is said that, notwithstanding their submission, one or two of them were put to death. The majority of the inhabitants of Sárko had, however, provided for their safety by taking refuge within the cavern, the peculiar entrance of which rendered it absolutely impossible for their fortress to be taken by assault. The Mohammedans, however, approached the cave, and one of them, who ventured rather nearer to its entrance than the rest of the party, was shot by the Christians from within. On this the Mohammedans returned to Sárko, breathing vengeance on all those whom they should find left in it. Thirteen Christians were beheaded in the village, and ninety women and children were carried off from it as slaves[14]. Both Khassán-pashá and Sheríf-pashá were greatly indignant at these lawless proceedings of the other Pashás and the Cretan Mohammedans. It was not, however, until Khassán-pashá had actually threatened to declare war on the whole body of the offenders, and their leaders, that the women and children, who had been enslaved, were restored to freedom, and were allowed to betake themselves either to the city[15], or to the Christian places of refuge up in the mountains.

[14] Of the women twenty-eight were unmarried maidens: *ὡς εἴκοσι ὀκτὼ κορίτζαις ἐχάλασαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι.* The word *ἐχάλασαν* is equivalent to *ἐδιάφθειραν*: on this usage of *διαφθείρω*, see PHRYNICHUS, p. 70. ed. Lobeck.

[15] Where many of them were hospitably received in Mohammedan families.

CRETAN PEASANT.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM SARKO TO RHOGDHIA. CARNIVAL FESTIVITIES. ANCIENT AND MODERN CRETAN TUMBLERS. DANCING. SONGS.

March 8, *continued.*

AFTER partaking of refreshments, provided by my host, I left the village of Sárko before three P.M. and followed the bank of its river, going northwards for

nearly two miles. An ascent of about twenty minutes, to the north-west of the stream, then brought us in sight of the Cretan sea, and, in half an hour more, we passed the village of Kalésia, close on our left. The valley in its direction is about half covered with olive-trees, and is pretty well cultivated throughout its whole extent. A few minutes after five we passed Kávro-khóri on our right, and, after a steep descent of ten minutes, crossed the bridge of Kávro-khóri, and again saw the fountain of Selvilí[1]. Twenty minutes more brought us to Armyró. It was now about sun-set, and, very soon after the shades of night had overspread the mountains between Armyró and Rhogdhiá, we lost our path, and continued to ramble about, we knew not whither, till between eight and nine o'clock.

At length Captain Maniás began to exert his stentorian voice, in the hope that it might reach either the village of Rhogdhiá, or some other dwellingplace of men, and be the means of enabling us to quit the rugged mountain-paths, along which we were blindly wandering. After several minutes had been thus spent in shouting, the peasants of Rhogdhiá heard the loud calls, which were made through the stillness of the night, although, as it turned out, we were still above a mile distant from their village. Two or three bold spirits ventured forth from their houses, with a lanthorn, to make out who was calling: Maniás continued to speak as they approached. At length, as soon as I thought they would begin to distinguish the words uttered, I observed, from the rapid change which took place in the situation of the lanthorn, that the villagers were effecting their retreat. On this, I myself exhorted them most lustily not to leave us all night among their mountains. They again stopped, and, after a parley, which lasted nearly a quarter of an hour, with me, one of the party gained enough courage to come up to us with his lanthorn,

[1] Above, p. 164.

being, however, still in a state of considerable fear and trembling. On finding that his alarm, which had been caused, as I supposed, by his distinguishing the Sfakian accent of my guide[2], was wholly groundless, he called out to three other villagers, who had left their houses with him, but had not had courage enough to approach us. They now shewed themselves, and conducted us to Rhogdhiá, which we reached soon after nine o'clock.

We could only obtain some barley-bread and a few olives for our evening-meal[3]: "this village has no vineyards," was the reply to my inquiries for wine[4].

I went with Captain Maniás to a cottage, where about thirty men and women and a few children were assembled. It now wants little more than a week to the beginning of the rigorous Lent of the Oriental church. Here, as in Catholic countries at the same season,

> The people take their fill of recreation,
> And buy repentance, ere they grow devout.

Among the various sports which served to amuse the assembled Cretans was one called "the spleen[5]," which is a very rude dramatic representation. The principal actor alone was dressed for his part. Frequent peals of laughter were elicited by his performance. Soon after this a peasant entered the room, on such lofty stilts that his head was within a few inches of the rafters, on which the flat roof of the cottage is supported. The elevated performer walked up to me, and, after welcoming me to their sports (*παιγνίδια*), saluted most of his assembled fellow-villagers. I next saw several

[2] "As I approached you, I distinguished a Sfakian voice, *μίαν Σφακιανὴν φωνήν*."

[3] Pythagoras himself must have fared as well when he visited Crete. ALEXIS, in Athenaeus, IV. p. 161. c.

> Ἄρτος καθαρὸς εἷς ἑκατέρῳ, ποτήριον
> ὕδατος, τοσαῦτα ταῦτα.

[4] "*Κρασὶ λείπει· δὲν ἔχει ἀμπέλια τοῦτο τὸ χωριό*" see above, p. 159.

[5] Ἡ *σπλῆνα*.

athletic games, one of which was certainly interesting from its calling to mind the practice of the ancient Cretan tumblers, who were celebrated for their skill even in Homer's time[6]. Two men placed themselves side by side and on their hands and knees. Their backs thus formed a sort of table. Two others took their station near them, one of whom stood on his feet, supporting the other with his heels upwards. Preserving their relative position, they next rolled over their artificial table: the heels, which had been suspended in the air, now descended to the earth, and the man who had been supported by his athletic companion a moment ago, had to support him in his turn. The tumbling operation was repeated until either the actors or spectators became weary.

Another performance, in which several of the peasants showed great skill, consisted in balancing a thin stick, about five feet long, along the ridge of the nose, and then leaning backward until one end of the stick touched the ground, its position of equilibrium on the nose remaining unaltered. There was a talk of exhibiting to me "the ship[7]", but this game I did not see. Before eleven o'clock these sports were abandoned, and the dance and its accompanying song were commenced. The cyclic chorus exhibited consisted of six women and as many men, each of whom held the hand of his neighbour. The coryphaeus favoured us by singing various poetical effusions as they danced.

It requires no great imaginative power to regard the dance of these Cretan youths and women, as an image, which still preserves some of the chief features

[6] HOMER, IL. XVIII. 604.

Δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτούς
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους.

ATHENAEUS, v. p. 181. b. Τοῖς μὲν οὖν Κρησὶν ἥ τε ὄρχησις ἐπιχώριος καὶ τὸ κυβιστᾶν. The skill of the Athenian Hippocleides in this art is recorded in the well-known story of HERODOTUS, VI. 129. On this subject consult PACIAUDI, de Athletarum Κυβιστήσει in Palaestra Graecorum, Rom. 1756.

[7] Τὸ καράβι.

of the Cnossian chorus of three thousand years ago[8]. As songs are now sung by the peasants on these occasions, so, in ancient times, there was a *hyporchem*, or *ballad*, with which the Cretans, more than all other Greeks, delighted to accompany their motions in the dance[9].

The little songs thus sung, at the present day, are called Madhinádhas[10] by the Cretans: I collected many of them during my stay in the island. The commonest of all such songs of the Cretan peasant is "a woeful ballad, made to his mistress' eyebrow." The following are specimens.

O thou, my much-beloved maid,
Branch of a lofty tree,
With thee what mind can converse hold?
Who can dispute with thee[11]?

[8] HOMER, IL. XVIII. 590.

Ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις
τῷ ἴκελον, οἷόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ εὐρείῃ
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησε καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.
ἔνθα μὲν ἠῖθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι
ὠρχεῦντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχοντες.

[9] ATHENAEUS, v. p. 181. Κρητικὰ καλοῦσι τὰ ὑπορχήματα. PROCLUS, in Phot. p. 345. (or p. 384. ed. Gaisf.) Ὑπόρχημα δὲ τὸ μετ' ὀρχήσεως ᾀδόμενον μέλος ἐλέγετο. See also LUCIAN, on dancing, §. 16. Tom. II. p. 277. Hemst. PLUTARCH, on music, p. 1134. c. and SPANHEIM, on Callimachus, Hymn to Delos, v. 312. where the origin of the cyclic dance is described:

Πόντια, σὸν περὶ βωμὸν ἐγειρομένου κιθαρισμοῦ
κύκλιον ὠρχήσαντο· χοροῦ δ' ἡγήσατο Θησεύς.

On the hyporchem may be consulted ILGEN, disquis. de scolior. poesi, p. XXXIV. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 349. and foll. ULRICI, Geschichte der Hellenischen Dichtkunst, Vol. II. pp. 36–37. FAURIEL, Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne, Discours préliminaire, p. CVII. On the *canzone a ballo* of the Italians, see RITSON's Historical Essay on National Song, p. XVI.

[10] The word μαδινάδα seems to be derived from ὁμάδι, and thus peculiarly to denote the stanzas sung on the occasion of such festive assemblies.

[11] ὦ πολὺ ἀγαπημένη μου
ψηλοῦ δενδροῦ κλονάρι,
ποιὸς ἔχει νοῦν νὰ σου μιλῇ
καὶ νὰ σου ῥοζονάρῃ;

Bear witness brightly shining Moon,
And Hághio Kostandí!
Beauties like thine 'neath the expanse
Of Heaven I ne'er did see[12].

I heard thy beauty's far-spread fame,
And came its truth to prove;
And now my soul no more can bear
To flee from thee, my love[13].

The Sun, when rising in the east,
Lurks in thy bosom fair,
And all his setting glories hide
Beneath thy yellow hair[14].

[12] Φεγγάρι μου λαμπρότατο
κ' ἅγιο Κωσταντινάτο,
τὰ κάλλη σου δὲν εἶδ' ἐγώ
στὸν οὐρανὸν ἀποκάτω.

[13] Ἐγροίκουνα τὰ κάλλη σου
κ' ἦλθα νὰ τὰ 'ξανοίξω,
καὶ δὲν μου δίδει ὁ νοῦς μόν πλέον,
νὰ φεύγω νὰ τὰ 'φήσω.

[14] Ὁ ἥλιος, ὥντα πρῶτα βγῇ,
στὰ στήθη σου κονεύει,
καὶ στὰ ξανθὰ σου τὰ μαλιά
πάγει καὶ βασιλεύει.

Yellow hair was as highly valued by the ancients as it is by the modern Greeks. Not only is it given to the most celebrated and beautiful courtezans, (compare SERVIUS, on Virg. Aen. IV. 698.) but even to the Lucretia of Ovid, (Fasti, II. 763.) and to the Lavinia of Virgil, (Aen. XII. 605.) Artificial means were sometimes used to produce the much-desired hue: MENANDER, in Clem. Alex. Paed. III. 2. (p. 235. Meinek.)

Νῦν δ' ἥρπ' ἀπ' οἴκων τῶνδε· τὴν γυναῖκα γάρ
τὴν σώφρον' οὐ δεῖ τὰς τρίχας ξανθὰς ποιεῖν.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS, II. 1. 5. "Quo formam suam concinniorem efficerent, summa cum diligentia capillos cinere rutilarunt." PETRONIUS ARBITER, CX. p. 655. See PERIZONIUS, on Aelian, V. H. IX. 9. p. 586.

Beauties like thine I never saw
Here at Kalésia's balls,
Nor throughout Mylopótamo,
Nor within Kástro's walls[15].

Thou likest art unto a Queen,
The world is ruled by thee;
Each heart thou will'st thou dost enslave,
And each thou will'st dost free[16].

Sometimes the lover dwells on his own feelings and sufferings, and thus "attunes his heart to elegies of woe."

My mind, and all my heart's desire,
Have thee as their sole aim:
I stand as if of sense bereft,
To hear pronounced thy name[17].

[15] Τὰ κάλλη σου δὲν εἶδ' ἐγώ
μούθε εἰς τὰ Καλέσια,
μούθε στὸ Μυλοπόταμο
μούθε στὸ Κάστρο μέσα.

[16] Εἶσαι ὡς μία βασίλισσα
κ' ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ὁρίζεις,
κἂν θέλεις πέρνεις τζὴ ψυχαίς
κἂν θέλεις τζὴ χαρίζεις.

The word βασίλισσα, though condemned by Phrynichus, is found in PHILEMON, Babylon. in Athen. XIII. p. 595. c. The rarer form βασίλιννα is also used by Menander. See STURZ, de dial. Maced. p. 151. LOBECK, on Phrynichus, p. 225. and fol. and MEINEKE, on Menand. p. 280. and 362.

[17] Ὁ νοῦς μου, ἡ διάνοια,
ἔπεσε μετ' ἐσένα·
καὶ στέκω νὰ κουζουλαθῶ
διὰ ὄνομα σουσένα.

My heart is closed, as in Khaniá
The gate when day is o'er:
Nor will it ope or smile again,
As it was wont before[18].

O thou afflicted heart of mine,
Who heaves a sigh for thee?
Who can thy sufferings declare?
Who tell thy misery[19]?

Be Heav'n my witness that I love;
The Lord doth know my pains,
He who together draws the clouds,
Who thunders, and who rains[20].

[18] Ἐκλείδωσ' ἡ καρδούλα μου
σὰν τῶν Χανιῶν ἡ πόρτα·
καὶ δὲν ἀνοίγει, δὲν γελᾷ,
καθὼς ἐγέλα πρῶτα.

[19] Καρδιά μου παραπονερά
ποιὸς σου παραπονᾶται;
ποιὸς τὰ λέγει τὰ γόϊα σου,
καὶ ποιὸς τὰ δηγᾶται;

[20] Ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ σε μὰ τὸν ἐς,
ὁ Κύριος τὸ κατέχει·
ἐκεῖνος ἀποῦ συννεφιᾷ,
καὶ ποβροντᾷ, καὶ βρέχει.

The elliptical phrase μὰ τὸν ἐς is very common in Crete, and is equivalent to μὰ τὸν θεόν. The word κατέχει in the next hemistich is the Cretan synonym for ἐξεύρει, and is in general use throughout the island: ἐξεύρω is hardly ever heard. The modern Cretan usage of μὰ τὸν ἐς seems to be derived from an ancient source. THE SCHOLIAST ON ARISTOPHANES, Ran. 1421. Ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐνίοτε μὴ προστιθέναι τὸν θεὸν εὐλαβείας χάριν—ὥστε εἰπεῖν μὲν μὰ τόν, ὄνομα δὲ μηκέτι προσθεῖναι. GREGORIUS, de dialect. Attic. §. LXXIX. Καὶ τὸ ἐλλειπτικῶς ὀμνύειν, μὰ τόν, μὴ προστιθέντες θεόν, Ἀττικόν ἐστι, where see KOENIUS, and compare HEINDORF, on Plat. Gorg. p. 466. e. Μὰ τὸν οὐ σύ γε. MEINEKE, on Menander, p. 131.

Alas! I am of sense bereft
For love of a Greek maid,
Whom once, and once alone, I saw,
At her lattice as she staid[21].

Within my heart a fire doth blaze,
There too a tree doth grow,
Which, from the flame's destructive force,
Wastes, and will soon lie low[22].

The connexion of the modern Cretan's religion with pictorial representations of the whole celestial hierarchy, will sufficiently account for such stanzas as the following:

Within a holy church's walls
Thy picture will I set,
Where service duly is performed,
That none may thee forget[23].

In order fully to enter into the force of this lover's language, we must remember that, throughout Greece, the Panaghía is the chief object of the Christian peasant's

[21] Αχ! καὶ κουζουλάθηκα
διὰ μιᾶς Ῥωμαίας χατίρι,
τὴν εἶδα μόνον μία φορά
ἀπὸ τὸ παραθύρι.

[22] Καρβουνίστια ἔχω στὴν καρδιά
κ' ἕνα δενδρὸ στὴ μέση
κ' ἀπὸ τὴν λαύρα τὴν πολλὴν
μαραίνεται νὰ πέσῃ.

[23] Εἰς μίαν μεγάλην ἐκκλησιά
ἀποῦ νὰ λειτουργᾶται
θὲ νὰ σε γράψω, ἀγάπη μου
νὰ μὴ σε λησμονᾶται.

adoration; and that thus, in his gallantry and devotion to his mistress, he declares that he will place her likeness in the church, by the side as it were of the Virgin herself. Though, in all probability, no Cretan peasant has ever seen any painting, except those which are hallowed in his eyes by religious associations, and to which not unfrequently his worship is immediately directed, yet I find that he renders, in many of his sentimental effusions, a somewhat similar tribute to the beauty of her whom he loves.

Now can I do no other thing
But thy dear likeness take,
And it within my bosom place,
And wear it for thy sake[24].

Thy likeness I received, as I
On England's waters roved:
Straight to my bosom it I pressed,
And cried, My own beloved[25]!

As we read in an ancient Comic Poet[26],

"Crete consecrates its cypress to the Gods,"

so, at the present day, the same beautiful tree, which abounds throughout the island, serves, at all events in

[24] Δὲν τὸ ἐμπορῶ νὰ κάμω ἀλλέως
μὰ θὰ σᾶς ζωγραφίσω,
νὰ σε βαστῶ στὸ κόρφο μου
νὰ μὴ σου λησμονήσω.

[25] Στῆς Ἰγγιλτέρρας τὰ νερά
ἔλαβα τὴν γραφή σου·
στὸν κόρφον μου τὴν ἔβαλα,
κ' εἶπα καρδιά δροσιά μου.

[26] HERMIPPUS, in Athenaeus, I. p. 27. f.
Ἡ δὲ καλὴ Κρήτη κυπάριττον τοῖσι θεοῖσιν.

the metaphors of poetry, as an offering to living objects of a sometimes equally idolatrous worship.

O thou so dearly by me loved!
Thou'rt like the cypress tall,
And, in thy conversation sweet,
The words like honey fall[27].

The resemblance between the beauty of the inanimate cypress, and that of the living object of the Cretan peasant's admiration, is dwelt on in other love-songs; and I have more than once heard such an expression as "she is tall and beautiful as a cypress."

The ancients seem to have perceived the same analogy between the beauty of women and cypresses, when they bestowed on those trees the name of the Graces[28]; and invented a legend, according to which the virgin daughters of Eteocles, on meeting with an untimely death, were changed into trees which resembled them in their beauty[29]. Aristaenetus compares the walk of

[27] Ὦ πολὺ ἀγαπημένη μου
τὸ μποΐ σου 'ναι σελβίνι,
καὶ τὸ ῥοζοναμέντο σου
μέλι μὲ ζάκκαρ εἶναι.

Σελβίνι is Turkish for κυπάρισσος, which latter word is alone used in the every-day language of the island. Ῥοζοναμέντο is from the Italian *ragionamento*, and, like ῥοζονάρω, from *ragionare*, is of common occurrence in the daily language of every Cretan. The phrase, μέλι μὲ ζάκκαρ, calls to mind Homer, and the Νεστόρειον εὔγλωσσον μέλι of Euripides.

[28] GEOPONICA, XI. 4. p. 796. Διττὸν αἱ κυπάρισσοι ὄνομα ἔχουσι, χάριτες μὲν διὰ τὴν τέρψιν.

[29] GEOPONICA, l. c. Ἐτεοκλέους δὲ αὗται καθεστήκασι παῖδες—γῆ δὲ ἐλεοῦσα τὸ πάθος φυτὰ εὐθαλῆ ὅμοια ταῖς κόραις ἀνῆκε. Other traditions are recorded by SERVIUS, on Aen. III. 680. Cyparissus Telephi filius fuit—Alii hunc Cyparissum Cretensem puerum pulcherrimum et castissimum fuisse—qui cum castitatem suam incorruptam tenere cuperet, relicta Creta ad Orontem fluvium, et montem Cassum dicitur pervenisse: atque ibi in cypressum arborem commutatus.

the celebrated Lais to the graceful motion of the cypress or the palm-tree, when gently agitated by the breeze[30].

My slender little cypress-tree,
With red cap on thy head!
Who'll be that happiest of men,
Who thee, fair maid, shall wed[31].

The happy consummation wished for in the last verse, is also the object of a lover's prayer and vow, in a couplet addressed to the Panaghía.

To thee a silver girdle now
I promise, if unite
Thou wilt, O Virgin, lovers true
In conjugal delight[32].

I heard many songs in Crete, which were equally called Madhinádhas, although they extended to the length of several verses. The following is one of these more lengthy effusions. It seems to belong to the period of the Venetian sway.

[30] ARISTAENETUS, Ep. I. Βάδισμα τεταγμένον, βραχὺ δέ, ὥσπερ κυπάριττος, ἢ φοίνιξ σειόμενος ἠσυχῇ.

[31] Λιγνὸ κυπαρισσάκι μου
μὲ κόκκινο κορφάτο,
ποιὸς θέλει νὰ κοιμηθῇ
στὸν ἴσχιον σου 'ποκάτω;

[32] Τάζω σου, Παναγία μου,
μίαν ἀσημένεαν ζώστρα
νὰ μᾶς συσμίξῃς καὶ τζὴ δυώ
εἰς ἕνα κρεββατοστρώσι.

On this Christian copy of a heathen original, see MIDDLETON, Letter from Rome, pp. 151—155. The ballad would belong to the class described by the term EYKTIKA, in PROCLUS, p. 389. ed. Gaisf. Εὐκτικὰ μέλη ἐγράφετο τοῖς αἰτουμένοις τι παρὰ θεοῦ γενέσθαι.

Thou jessamin with lofty top,
Thou sweet Sitían rose;
The beauty of thy fairest form
E'en distant Venice knows.

Would that to Heaven I could rise,
That, sitting down, I might,
With both my pen and book in hand,
Thy beauties all indite!

Thy beauties bright enchant Pashás,
Thy eyebrows a Vezír:
Thy body, with its angel-charms,
Enchants Karavukýr.

By Heaven! I should be content
To die, if on thy breast,
Of beauteous marble-like expanse,
My hand I once had prest[33].

[33] Ψηλοφουντό μου ἰασεμί
ῥόδον ἀπὸ τὴν Σητεία,
ἡ ὠμορφιά σου ἠκούστηκε
μέσα στὴν Βενετία.

θὰ ἀναβῶ στοὺς οὐρανούς,
νὰ διπλωθῶ, νὰ κάτσω,
νὰ πάρω πέννα καὶ χαρτί
τὰ κάλλη σου νὰ γράψω.

τὰ κάλλη σου κρεμοῦν Πασιά
τα 'φρύδια σου Βεζίρη
τὸ ἀγγελικό σου τὸ κορμί
κρεμᾷ Καραβουκύρη.

δὲν θέλω παρὰ μία φορά
τὴν χέρα μου νὰ βάνω
στὰ μαρμαρένεα σου βυζιά
κ' ἀπέκει—ἂς ἀποθάνω.

The

Some of the little Madhinádhas might seem to be meant for the beloved one's utterance; as in the following instance.

Now will I take thee as my love,
Which thou wast not before:
A hanger on, as from my ear
The flower of golden ore[34].

It must, however, be observed that no woman of the island *ever* sings: and the Sfakian women, whose seclusion and reserve is greater than that of the other female Cretans, never even dance, except on some great religious festivals, and then only with very near relations. Maniás, who thinks that the readiness, with which the women of Mylopótamo and other parts of the island join in the dance, is hardly creditable to them, was greatly horrified at the idea of any respectable

The phrase μαρμαρένεα βυζιά calls to mind the well-known description of EURIPIDES, Hec. 558.

Μαστούς τ' ἔδειξε, στέρνα θ', ὡς ἀγάλματος,
κάλλιστα·

but it is hardly the beauty of form, judged of by the eye, to which the modern Greek's metaphor μαρμαρένεα βυζιά applies. The Cretan peasant, who has never seen any beautiful work of the sculptor's art, could scarcely conceive

Wie einst mit fliehendem Verlangen
Pygmalion den Stein umschloss,

and probably means little more than is expressed by the simple words of PLAUTUS, (Pseud. I. 1.)

Papillarum *horridularum* obpressiunculae.

A similar feeling may have given rise to the comparison with *quinces*, in which many authors delight. ARISTOPHANES, Ach. 1161.

Τῶν τιτθίων, ὡς σκληρὰ καὶ κυδώνια.

Thus ARISTAENETUS, Ep. I. p. 6. ed. Boiss. says, κυδωνιῶντες οἱ μαστοί, which has been well expressed in French *ses tetons pommelans*. Again, I. III. p. 14. Τὸν κυδωνιῶντα τῆς ποθουμένης μαστόν. LEONIDAS TARENTINUS, XLI. (Anth. Gr. Tom. I. p. 231.)

Καὶ μαζός, ἀκμῆς ἄγγελος, κυδωνιᾶ·

see JACOBS, in Tom. VII. p. 102.

[34] Ἀγάπη μου δὲν ἤσουνι
ἐγὼ θὲ νὰ σε κάμω,
τζιτζέκι βαρακληδικό
στ' αὐτί μου νά σε βάνω.

female's ever singing; and assured me that it was quite impossible for a Greek woman to disgrace herself by doing anything so disreputable.

Having done justice to the tender feelings of the Cretan peasant, as expressed in his love-songs, I must add, that he not unfrequently gives utterance, in the Madhinádha, to hopes of emancipation from his present political thraldom. Aspirations after freedom, like the following, were doubtless of general occurrence during the long, and, in this island, vain struggle for independence.

God, and the Virgin, and the Lord,
Possess the power to give,
That we, henceforth, from Moslem rule
Emancipated live[35].

Thou Most High God whom I adore,
Who, with thy Angels bright,
Aloft amid the Heavens dost dwell,
Assist the Christian fight[36]:

[35] Ἔχει ὁ Θεὸς κ' ἡ Παναγιά,
κ' ὁ Κύριος νὰ δώσῃ
ἀπὸ τῶν Τουρκῶν τὰ χέρια
νὰ μᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ.

This modern Cretan madhinádha bears some little resemblance, at all events in the union of the Virgin with the Deity, to an ancient scolion preserved in ATHENAEUS, XV. p. 694. c.

Παλλὰς Τριτογένει' ἄνασσ' Ἀθηνᾶ,
ὄρθου τήνδε πόλιν τε καὶ πολίτας,
ἄτερ ἀλγέων καὶ στάσεων
καὶ θανάτων ἀώρων, σύ τε καὶ πατήρ.

[36] Ὦ Ὕψιστε Θεέ μου
ἀποῦ εἶσαι στοὺς οὐρανούς,
μὲ ὅλους τζὴ ἀγγέλους
βοηθᾶ τζὴ Χριστιανούς,

The Moslem that they conquer may,
And thus that they be freed,
Their Liberty obtaining
When thou assist'st the deed[37].

[37] Τὸν Τοῦρκον νὰ νικήσουν
καὶ νὰ 'λευθερωθοῦν,
κ' ἐλευθεριάν νὰ λάβουν
μὲ θέλημα θεοῦ.

ARMYRO.

CHAPTER XVI.

EVENTS AT RHOGDHIA DURING THE WAR. PALAEOKASTRON THE SITE OF CYTAEUM. APOLLONIA AT OR NEAR ARMYRO, AND MATIUM AT MEGALO-KASTRON. LEPROSY. THE RIVER KAERATOS. KAKON-OROS. HERACLEIA. THE RIVER APOSELEMI. AMNISOS. SITE OF STRENOS. ARRIVAL AT EPISKOPIANO, NEAR THE SITE OF KHERSONESOS. VARIOUS NIGHTLY INMATES OF A GREEK CLERGYMAN'S HOUSE.

March 9.

THE young man who had the courage to approach us last night, was seized, when a mere boy, with others of his fellow-villagers, by a party of Mohammedans from Megálo-Kástron, and remained as a slave in the city for five years. At the time of the second revolt

of the Christian population, he had arrived at manhood, and, fleeing from his Mohammedan master, joined his correligionaries in their struggle[1].

There are only two women out of the whole female population of Rhogdhiá, who were not enslaved by the Mohammedans. Parties used to issue out of Megálo-Kástron, and to carry off five, ten, or twenty women at a time. The slave-market of Alexandria was the destination of many of them. The last return of any of these unfortunate women to their native land took place nearly a year ago. Two then came back from Egypt, where many still remain in bondage.

Rhogdhiá formerly contained nearly eighty families: there are now only twenty-five. The houses of the present Rhogdhiáns are all of recent construction, their old habitations having been entirely destroyed by the Mohammedans.

A descent of about half an hour from this picturesque village brings us to the ruins of a Venetian fortress called Palaeókastron, and situated near the sea-side, to the west of Rhogdhiá. I believe Palaeókastron to be the site not only of a Venetian castle, but of an ancient city.

Cytaeum is mentioned by Pliny[2], who places it between Panormus and Apollonia, by Ptolemy[3], and by Stephanus of Byzantium[4]. The poet Nonnus has also noticed it[5]. It appears clear that Pliny's list is more correct than Ptolemy's, in our present editions of him, on this part of the coast. We have already seen where Panormos was situated[6]; and I suppose this Palaeó-

[1] Ἔφευγα καὶ ἐπῆρα τὸ τουφέκι μου.

[2] Pliny, N. H. iv. 20. [3] Ptolemy, Geograph. iii. 17.

[4] Stephanus Byzant. v. Κύτα—ἔστι καὶ Κύταιον πόλις Κρήτης.

[5] Nonnus, xiii. 237. Καὶ ἄστεα καλὰ Κυταίου, an extraordinary usage of the plural. I should like to find καὶ ἄλσεα καλὰ Κυταίου: compare v. 288. of the same book, where the true reading is doubtless καὶ ἄλσεα καλὰ Λυκαίου, and where the corruption has seized not on ἄλσεα as in the first passage, but on Λυκαίου, which has given way to Κυταίου.

[6] Above, pp. 157–158.

kastron to be the site of the ancient Cytaeum. The existence here of a regularly constructed Venetian fortress, accounts for the disappearance of all such remains as might have indicated the site of the ancient city. It may perhaps be objected that the term Palaeókastron is applied to the mere ruins of the Venetian fortress. I reply that Palaeókastron is rarely a designation of middle-age remains, which are generally called Kastélia; and, a fact of much more importance to decide this question, I find the place mentioned, under the same name of Palaeókastron, in the very deliberations of the Venetians respecting the propriety of erecting the fortress on the spot[7]; so that the epithet, as usual, indicates the existence of an ancient site.

No Cretan city has experienced a harder fate, since the revival of letters, than the unfortunate Cytaeum. Domenico Negri, Ferrarius, and most of the early geographers, placed it at Megálo-Kástron; while others[8] condemned it to exile near the eastern extremity of the island. Meletius states its three supposed sites, and rightly objects to the hypothesis of its having been at Sitía[9].

[7] This I saw in MSS. at Venice. I find in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, an Italian manuscript, entitled, Descrittione de Candia, and at fol. 207. are the words "La fortezza fatta nuovamente, sopra il sasso nominato Paleo castro, spazza tutto il porto, e dialoggia ogni sorte di vascello." The MS. volume is marked R. 4. 6.

[8] BELON, for instance; see his Singularitez etc. fol. 7. He was probably struck by a fancied resemblance in sound, as TOURNEFORT says (p. 31.) that "La Sude semble conserver encore quelques restes du nom de Cydonia," that is Σούδα, the present name of the fortress and gulf, (on the etymology of which word see Du Cange and Koray, cited above at p. 189.) resembles Κυδωνία: which it does just as much as *Su* and *Chi* resemble each other when pronounced by an Italian.

[9] MELETIUS, Geograph. p. 409. Κυταῖον λογιάζουσι τινὲς, ὅτι αὐτὸ νὰ εἶναι ἡ νῦν Κάνδια. καὶ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὸ Κυταῖον νὰ εἶναι ἡ Σιττία, ἀλλ' αὕτη τίθεται εἰς τὸ Ἀνατολικὸν μέρος. καὶ ἄλλοι ὅτι νὰ εἶναι ἡ Φράσκια. *La Fraschia* is the name of this spot in Venetian writers: the Capo della Fraschia is the Dium promontory. Mr SIEBER, Reise, Vol. II. p. 269. supposes two towns of the name Cytaeum (Κύταιον): in order, I suppose, that he may have the pleasure of placing one of them at *Sitía*.

I left Palaeókastron at eleven o'clock. The rocks, over which our path leads us, are marble and schistose. We follow their slope, at no great distance from the sea, for half an hour, and then reach the plain; and, in ten minutes more, arrive at the mills of Armyró, of which a sketch is seen at the head of this chapter.

Probably Apollonia was situated at Armyró: undoubtedly it must have been on the coast in this neighbourhood, either here or a little nearer to Megálo-Kástron, for instance, at the mouth of the Ghiófiro. The words of Stephanus of Byzantium would perhaps induce us to assign to it the latter position, as nearer to Cnossos[10].

I suppose that Megálo-Kástron itself occupies the site of the ancient Matium, the maritime city next to the east of Apollonia in Pliny's list[11]. It is spoken of as opposite to the island of Dia[12].

Torres y Ribera has endeavoured to shew that the modern Armyró is the site of Amnisos[13], which, however, I should suppose to have been somewhat to the east of Megálo-Kástron[14]. The locality of Armyró is fully described in the work of Dapper[15]. I am told that the water here is bitter during the summer: it is very good to drink at present. The peasants say that the flood, which issues from under the rocks, has a passage of about sixteen miles through the mountains from

[10] STEPHANUS BYZANT. Ἀπολλωνία—στ' ἐν Κρήτῃ, πρὸς τῇ Κνωσσῷ.

[11] PLINY, IV. 20. Panhormum, Cytaeum, Apollonia, Matium.

[12] PLINY, l. c. Contra Matium Dia.

[13] TORRES Y RIBERA, Periplus Cretae, Cap. XX. p. 220.

[14] See below, pp. 265—267.

[15] DAPPER, Description exacte des Isles de l'Archipel. In speaking of the river he says, "Elle prend sa source—au pied du Mont Strombol, d'où elle sort par une grande ouverture avec tant d'impétuosité, et une si grande abondance d'eau, qu'elle forme d'abord un grand lac; en suite elle continue à rouler ses eaux avec un cours fort rapide à travers du lac, si bien qu'elle fait tourner dix moulins, établis sur ses bords; après elle sort de ce lac, et se répand dans un lit large, et profond, où continuant à couler l'espace d'environ mille pas, elle forme une rivière qui est fort abondante en poissons, et en écrevisses."

the district of Mylopótamo. The quantity of water in this now copious stream is so reduced, during the summer-time, that the considerable cave from which it issues may be then examined.

An hour's ride from Armyró, across the plain, brought us to the gates of Megálo-Kástron. In the evening I dined with Monsieur Godebout, and had great satisfaction in being practically reminded of the contrast between a cuisine à la Française, and that to which I had been of late accustomed, in the cottages of the Cretan peasants.

March 11.

We left Megálo-Kástron at half-past eight. The morning is one of those which announce the commencement of spring. Somewhat more than a mile from the eastern gate of the city, we crossed a streamlet, and I made a vain search for remains of antiquity near the metókhi on our left, not far from the sea. I found several caves in the neighbourhood. We had already seen many others in the rocks as we passed. A rude wall built up at the entrance of several of them had served to render them habitable. They used to be occupied by lepers, who, on being attacked by their disease, were always driven out of their own villages[16]. On resuming our route we followed the plain, which is almost entirely sterile, for half an hour, and then began to wind through a low range of hills, after passing which we came out near the sea, and at a river too deep to allow of our fording it. We therefore followed its western bank, and, in a few minutes,

[16] SAVARY, Lettres sur la Grèce, Lettre XXXIII. pp. 283—285. and SONNINI, Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie, Tom. I. pp. 396—399. draw a horrible and disgusting picture of the condition and habits of these victims of leprosy. When Mr SIEBER visited the island, there were some miserable huts occupied by them outside the walls of Khania: see his Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. I. pp. 149. and 164. The words lazar (whence lazaretto) and leper were formerly used with great latitude, and even those who were lue gallica infecti, were called lepers: see REISKE, on the Ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, p. 180, 6. ed. Bonn. or p. 106. B. 3. ed. L.

crossed it, over a bridge situated about half way between the sea and the village of Karteró.

The name Karteró reminds us of the river Kaeratos, mentioned by Strabo[17] and other writers[18] as flowing past Cnossos, which city was once known by the same name as the river. There can hardly be a doubt that the stream which we have just crossed is this Kaeratos of the ancients: it is mentioned not only by the authors referred to, but by both a Greek and a Roman poet[19].

Soon after crossing the river, we arrived, being still near the shore and only about three hundred paces to the west of Kakón-óros[20], at a little rocky hill, on which there are vestiges of buildings, together with a cistern and slight remains of a wall which surrounded the site. These ruins probably do not belong to an earlier period than that of the Venetian conquest. But, nevertheless, the situation of the hill is so well adapted for the site of a little Greek town in the early ages, that we need not be surprised if the records of the ancient geographers indicate to us the existence of a Cretan city hereabouts.

We have already seen[21] that Cytaeum was probably at Palaeókastron, Apollonia at Armyró, or near the mouth of the Ghiófiro, and Matium on the site of Megálo-Kástron. The next city, to the east of Matium, of which mention is made by Pliny[22], is Heraclea. Ptolemy[23] merely puts it between the Zephyrian promontory and Panormos, and therefore neither helps nor impedes us in our attempt to determine its precise situation.

[17] STRABO, x. §. 8. p. 240. ed. Tzschuck. Ἐκαλεῖτο δ' ἡ Κνωσσὸς Καίρατος πρότερον, ὁμώνυμος τῷ παραῤῥέοντι ποταμῷ.

[18] EUSTATHIUS, on Dionys. Perieg. v. 498. Κνωσσός—ἥτις καὶ Καίρατος ἐκαλεῖτο ὁμωνυμοῦσα ποταμῷ τινι παραῤῥέοντι. HESYCHIUS, Καιράτιοι. οἱ Κνώσιοι. ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ.

[19] CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Artemis, 44.

Χαῖρε δὲ Καίρατος ποταμὸς μέγα.

VIRGIL, in the Ciris, 113.

Carpathium fugiens et fiumina Caerates.

[20] Τὸ Κακὸν Ὄρος. [21] See above, pp. 259–260.

[22] PLINY, IV. 20. [23] PTOLEMY, Geograph. p. 91.

From Strabo[24] we know that Heracleion was the port of Cnossos in the age of Minos; and the Anonymous Coast-Describer[25] mentions it as twenty stades distant from its chief city. Its name is simply given by Stephanus of Byzantium, as the seventeenth of his twenty-three Heracleas. Although the Ecclesiastical notices make no mention of this place as a Bishop's see, yet there is found among the subscriptions to the proceedings of the seventh General Council, which was held at Nicaea, along with other Cretan Prelates, Theodoros Bishop of Heracleopolis[26]. It is needless to notice the supposition of a Geographer[27], who lived upwards of three hundred years ago, and considered Cape Sídhero as the Zephyrian promontory, and described the ancient Heraclea as having existed at Sitía.

After leaving the probable site of Heraclea we crossed a streamlet and commenced our ascent of Kakón-óros: we were the greater part of an hour in winding round the northern face of the mountain[28]. The Venetian

[24] STRABO, x. §. 7. fin. p. 239. ed. Tzschucke. Ἔχει δ' ἐπίνειον τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἡ Κνωσσός.

[25] STADIASMUS, in Geograph. Graec. Min. Tom. II. p. 500. ed. Gail. Πόλις ἐστίν. ἔχει λιμένα καὶ ὕδωρ· ἀπὸ σταδίων κ' πόλις κεῖται Μονησός, where the last word is doubtless corrupt. Probably Αμνισός should be read, as MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VIII. p. 700. conjectured.

[26] See CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. p. 254.

[27] DOMENICO NEGRI, Lib. XI. p. 347. ed. Basil. 1557.

[28] This winding road is represented in the 29th plate of MARCO BOSCHINI's work, Il Regno tutto di Candia, ec. ed. 1651. In the Italianized title, "Cacco Noros," one almost loses the Κακὸν Ὄρος of the Greeks. This tendency to separate the final ν from an adjective or article, and prefix it to the following word, is general. Thus Mr Sieber, who was entirely ignorant of the language of the country, has placed on his map a town *Nistrona* instead of Istrona: he had heard a Cretan mention τὸν Ἴστρωνα, and supposed the name to be τὸ Νίστρωνα. Thus CHANDLER wrote Nonoi instead of Oenoe; see above, p. 25. and thus we have in Lapie a Cretan village Nipo, which has always been called Ipo by its inhabitants. The Greek name of this mountain however is not so totally marred and changed in Boschini's Cacco Noros as that of Mount Hymettus became in its Italian appellation of, not Monte Imetto, but Monte *Matto*, Mad-Mountain. The most singular part of the Attic story is that this new appellation was received back from the Italians, and Τρελὸ βουνό, or Dehli Dagh, became the common name of the mountain. See DODWELL's Tour, Vol. I. p. 483.

paved or pitched road still exists, and is, in many places, supported by a wall on our left. To have passed one of these old Venetian roads is always a satisfaction to the traveller who values either his horse's knees or his own neck. Almost immediately after leaving the mountain we crossed the winter-stream Armelídhes, and, following the shore for about half a mile, arrived at a little hut dignified by the name of Kaenúrio-kháni. At the end of another half mile we passed the village of Gúrnes on our right, and crossed a river which flows by a place called Anópolis, at some distance up in the hills. Shortly after crossing this river we turned off to the right, and soon began to see marks of cultivation, and indications of our approach to a more considerable village than we had passed this morning, in the corn-fields, olive-trees, and vineyards, which we observed. In less than half an hour we arrived at Gúves, a village of between forty and fifty houses, chiefly inhabited by Christians. There are many carob-trees in the neighbourhood of the place.

I found here a person who, in answer to my inquiries, told me that there is a cave near the sea, and close by the river Aposelémi. I was delighted at the news, for I felt satisfied that I had not as yet seen any traces of Amnisos in my researches between this place and Megálo-Kástron, and when I left Gúves it was with every hope that I should find Ilithyia's cave, and the place where Ulysses landed, when

> A violent wind
> Had driven him from Malea, while he sought
> The shores of Troy, to Crete. The storm his bark
> Bore into the Amnisos, for the cave
> Of Ilithyia known: a dangerous port:
> With difficulty did he 'scape the gales[29].

[29] ODYSSEY, XIX. 186.

> Καὶ γὰρ τὸν Κρήτηνδε κατήγαγεν ἶς ἀνέμοιο,
> ἰέμενον Τροίηνδε, παραπλάγξασα Μαλειῶν·
> στῆσε δ' ἐν Ἀμνισῷ, ὅθι τε σπέος Εἰλειθυίης,
> ἐν λιμέσιν χαλεποῖσι· μόγις δ' ὑπάλυξεν ἀέλλας.

Strabo tells us that Minos used as his port Amnisos, where there was a temple of Ilithyia[30]; and we learn from Pausanias[31], that the Cretans used to believe Ilithyia to have been born there. It is amusing to read Eustathius's notice of the etymological propriety of assigning to that Goddess a place called Amnisos[32]. Besides the city and port, with their celebrated cavern and temple, there was a river known by the same name[33], which was a favourite resort of Artemis[34], and her attendant nymphs[35].

Dionysius Periegetes[36] has thought proper to use the word Amnisos where we should rather have expected him to name the whole island: he says, "many islands are seen to the north of Amnisos." Its frequent men-

[30] STRABO, x. p. 476. *Μίνω δέ φασιν ἐπινείῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ Ἀμνισῷ, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἱερόν.*

[31] PAUSANIAS, i. p. 42. *Κρῆτες δὲ χώρας τῆς Κνωσίας ἐν Ἀμνισῷ γένεσθαι νομίζουσιν Εἰλείθυιαν.*

[32] EUSTATHIUS, on Odyss. T. p. 1861. *Πάνυ δὲ ἐπιδεξίως ὁ μῦθος ἐπελέξατο τὸν Ἀμνισσὸν τῇ Εἰλειθυίᾳ εἰς διατριβήν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ βρέφος τηνικαῦτα εἰς φῶς ἐλεύθει, ὅπερ Εἰλειθυίας ἔργον ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ ἡ Ἰλιὰς ἐδήλωσεν, ὀπηνίκα οὐ δύναται μένειν κατὰ γαστρός. τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ Ἀμνισσὸς ὡς οἱά τις ἀμενισσὸς τῷ ἤχῳ τῆς λέξεως παραινίττεται.*

[33] NONNUS, Dionys. VIII. 115.

Γείτονος Ἀμνισοῖο λεχώϊον ἕδρακεν ὕδωρ.

SUIDAS, *Ἀμνισός, ποταμὸς Κρήτης.* SCHOL. BREV. on Odyss. T. v. 188. *Ἀμνισός, πόλις καὶ ποταμὸς Κρήτης.* SCHOL. AMBR. B. *Ἀμνισὸς—ἔστι δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς Κρήτης.* SCHOLIA ON CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Artemis, 15. *Ἀμνισός, ποταμὸς Κρήτης.*

[34] APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, III. 877.

Ἠὲ καὶ Ἀμνισοῖο λοεσσαμένη ποταμοῖο
χρυσείοις Λητωΐς ἐφ' ἅρμασιν ἑστηνῖα.

[35] CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Artemis, 15.

Δὸς δέ μοι ἀμφιπόλους Ἀμνισίδας εἴκοσι νύμφας.

STEPHANUS BYZANT. *Ἀμνισὸς πόλις Κρήτης. αἱ τούτου νύμφαι Ἀμνισιάδες καὶ Ἀμνισίδες,* a passage in which it has been conjectured by several learned men that *καὶ ποταμὸς* has fallen out before *Κρήτης*, but where, perhaps, it is still more likely that *ποταμὸς* should be received instead of the present reading *πόλις*. Artemis and her attendant nymphs delighted to frequent rivers, and never dwelt in cities. See SPANHEIM, on the passage of Callimachus just quoted.

[36] DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, v. 498.

Πολλαὶ δ' Ἀμνισοῖο βορειότεραι ὀρόωνται.

tion by poets, as connected with the Ilithyian worship, may have given it a sufficient celebrity to have rendered his expression intelligible to the majority of his readers[37]. The Panopolitan Poet, when describing the residence of the Cnossian Asterios, on the banks of the Phasis, speaks of the Cretan stream Amnisos, which the hero had left behind him in his native land[38].

The river Aposelémi is only about a mile from Gúves. Before we reached this stream, we passed on our left the church of Hághios Gheórghios, near which there used to be several houses. They are now in ruins, as is the church, to which however the Papás of Gúves comes and officiates annually on April 23d (O.S.), the day of its patron Saint. Just below the church, we see on the shore the wreck of an Egyptian corvette. She got ashore here and was lost in December last: she brought Mehmét-Alí's final orders, in consequence of which more than thirty Cretans were executed immediately after, without even the semblance of justice or law. It is a pity that the despatches were not lost as well as the vessel. A guard of thirty Arab soldiers is stationed on the shore to prevent any one from stealing from the wreck. One would have supposed that the government might long ago have removed every thing capable of being saved, and thus have dispensed with continuing their guard.

We now cross a bridge over the Aposelémi, the rapid stream which flows from the mountains of Lassíthi, and carries off all the waters which pass through the great katavóthra of the Lassithian plain. I shall have to speak of it again on visiting Avdhú and Lassíthi. After descending from the mountains, it flows through a rich and pleasant valley, where, if it were

[37] See BERNHARDY, on Dionys. p. 655.

[38] NONNUS, XIII. 250.

Παιδοκόμου δέ
πάτριον Ἀμνισοῖο ῥόον Κρηταῖον ἐάσας,
αἰδομένοις στομάτεσσι νόθον πίε Φάσιδος ὕδωρ.

necessary to determine the favourite haunts of Artemis and her nymphs, we should believe them to have "disported on its margent green." At present my hopes were directed to the cavern of Ilithyia. I found the grotto[39], spoken of by the stupid Gúvian who accompanied me, to be nothing more than an artificial cistern, which in all likelihood had been constructed in the time of the Venetians.

Notwithstanding the ill success of my inquiries, I still feel satisfied that the site of Amnisos and its cavern must exist somewhere in this neighbourhood. In less than an hour after leaving the river, we reached Khersónesos[40]: in its immediate neighbourhood alone we saw marks of cultivation. A mile farther on is the village of Episkopianó, a name which reminds us that Khersonesos was a bishopric. The remains of the ancient city are down on the shore about a mile off.

The existence of these ruins, close to a little port on the shore, and the actual names of the villages of Khersónesos and Episkopianó, sufficiently prove that we are near what was once the port of Lyttos and subsequently became an episcopal city. A place called

[39] Ἕνα σπήλαιον was his expression: it is singular that the words μία στέρνη never escaped him. Στέρνη is constantly used to denote a cistern, and, like the French and English words, has an Italian origin. We sometimes find a place, where there are cisterns, called Sternes (Στέρναις), or, as a Cretan would most likely call it, τζὴ Στέρναις, (εἰς τὰς Στέρνας.) I mention this on account of an observation of Professor Hoeck, who, misled by the resemblance between this modern Greek word and the name of an ancient Cretan city Strenos, observes that there is a place called Sterne, on the Akrotéri near Khaniá, meaning, I suppose, that the name might be a corruption of that of the ancient city. I know not where to place this Strenos. Stephanus of Byzantium mentions it, on the authority of Herodotus, as a Cretan city, (STEPHANUS BYZANT. Στρῆνος, Ἡρόδοτος ἐβδόμῃ, πόλις Κρητική. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Στρήνιος, ὡς Φαῖστος Φαίστιος), and no further notice is found of it either in Herodotus or in any other author. On referring to my list of the villages of Apokórona I find the real name of the place in question is Xerostérni, which sufficiently declares its own meaning, and prevents the possibility of any connexion with Strenos. Pococke too mentions the village of "Sternes" and its cisterns.

[40] Χερσόνησος, called more commonly Χεροσόνησος by the Greeks.

Lýtto, where ancient remains are still found, is about eight or ten miles up in the mountains to the south of these villages.

The mistake of D'Anville[41], Mannert[42] and Cramer[43], as well as of the Venetian Senator Cornaro[44] and the German traveller Sieber[45], in supposing Khersonesos to have been at Spina Longa, is too palpable to require any investigation. Professor Hoeck has shewn the impossibility of that city having been so far to the east[46]; and even Pococke[47] was aware of its true situation, for he says that he had designed to have gone further to the east than Megálo-Kástron, "at least as far as Cerroneso," which is rightly laid down in his map, and of which he adds: "it is now called Cheronneso; it is a Bishop's see where there are some ruins."

On arriving at Episkopianó I went to the house of of the Priest, who accompanied me down to Palaeópolis, the site of the ancient city on the shore. I had not time, before sunset, to examine, with sufficient attention, its existing remains; and found that it would be necessary to visit them again the following morning[48]. I therefore returned to my quarters at Episkopianó.

Whatever may have been the comfort or splendour with which the former ecclesiastical dignitaries of the

[41] D'Anville, Oeuvres, (Géographie ancienne abrégée,) Tom. II. p. 191. ed. Par. 1834. "Cette ville *Lyctos* avoit un port appelé *Cherronesus*, qui convient à ce qu' on nomme *Spina Longa*, quoique le nom de Cherronesi soit aujourd'hui transporté au port Tigani."

[42] Mannert, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VIII. p. 702.

[43] Cramer, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. pp. 370 and 388.

[44] Cornelius, Creta Sacra, I. p. 258.

[45] Sieber, Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. I. p. 299, and Vol. II. p. 265. Mr Sieber slept at Gúves, (Vol. I. p. 274.) and we find him next, after he had crossed the Aposelémi, at Mália, (p. 276.) to reach which place he must have passed either through the modern village of Khersónesos, or over the ruins of the ancient city.

[46] Hoeck, Kreta, Vol. I. pp. 408, 409.

[47] Pococke, Vol. II. Part I. p. 258.

[48] On the morning of the next day, March 12, 1834, I examined the site of Khersonesos: on the 14th, that of the Homeric city of Miletos, at which considerable remains of walls of polygonal masonry, both of the acropolis and city,

place lived, nothing could be more meagre than our fare in the house of the Papás. With considerable difficulty three eggs and an oke of milk were found in the village.

After this sorry meal we tried to sleep. The Papás, his wife[49], two tall daughters, two full-grown sons, some younger children, two asses, two cows, and a young calf were the ordinary nightly inmates of the single apartment of the cottage; and to their number my party was now added. We seem to be transported back more than three thousand years, to the time

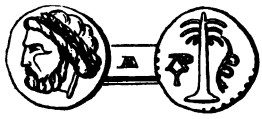
> Cum frigida parvas
> Praeberet spelunca domos, ignemque laremque
> Et pecus et dominos communi clauderet umbra.

The presence of four-legged animals was far from being the only source of discomfort which we found in the priest's cottage. I might speak of other innumerable companions of our couch "from dewy eve till morn," who probably thought us entitled, as strangers and guests, to their peculiar and unceasing attentions throughout the live-long night[50].

city, are still seen. In the following week I discovered vestiges of other ancient cities, in the district of Mirabéllo, the names and situations of which are laid down in my map. In the subsequent month of June I spent two days at Lýtto, where I copied a great number of inscriptions. I am compelled to leave my travels in these parts of the island undescribed, at all events at present; and shall resume my personal narrative, in the next chapter, at Hierápetra.

[49] Whose appellation is always ἡ Παπαδιά.

[50] Surely the Greeks must be hardened against such attacks by their habitual exposure to them. Woe betide the traveller, in these countries, if his skin is not made of "impenetrable stuff;" for his arrival in a Greek cottage acts like a talisman, and he at once sees many of his dark-coloured and active enemies spring upon him, even in the broad light of day.



COIN OF HIERAPYTNA.

CHAPTER XVII.

DEPARTURE FROM HIERAPETRA. MYRTOS. THE GIANT'S TOMB. SYKOLOGO. IGNORANCE OF THE PEASANTS. A MENDICANT MONK. ST ANTONIOS AND ASCLEPIOS. HAGHIO VASILI. ARVI. DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT SARCOPHAGUS. MOUNT ARBIOS. VIANO, PERHAPS THE SITE OF BIENNOS. LEGEND OF OTOS AND EPHIALTES. CONTEST BETWEEN ZEUS AND THE GIANTS. CONNEXION OF CRETE WITH NAXOS. PRODUCE OF THE EPARKHIA OF RHIZO-KASTRON.

March 26.

AT noon to-day I set out from Hierápetra[1], intending to return along the south side of the island towards Rhíthymnos and Khaniá. As we followed the shore in our westerly course, we were nearly an hour in the plain which surrounds the Kastéli, as the town of Hierápetra is commonly called. Less than two thirds of the plain is now cultivated; on leaving it we observed the village of Anatolé, and its white tower, distant about three miles to the north-west. The road to Mýrtos, after leaving the plain, passes through hills, presenting points of view which are sometimes picturesque, and is never very far from the sea, although it was only once actually in sight. In one or two places I noticed great

[1] Which place I again visited in the following month of August, and of the ruins of which I may hereafter speak.

masses of gypsum near the shore. On crossing the river at Mýrtos, we entered the eparkhía of Rhizó-kastron, bounded to the north by Lassíthi and Pedhiádha, and to the west by Mesará. It is chiefly mountainous, abounding in springs and rivulets: most of its villages are surrounded by fine groves of olive-trees.

At a distance of about six miles from Mýrtos, and after a ride of about two hours through a fine mountainous country, we reached a considerable elevation above the level of the sea, and arrived at a raised ridge of earth called "the Giant's tomb[2]." Its length is near forty paces: there are two olive-trees at its western end. The elevation seems to be natural. About a mile to the west of it is a fountain.

I find that the grandson of Apokhaps, the Saracenic conquerer of Crete, had the epithet Tesserakontapekhys applied to him. The identity between this appellation of Babdel and the name of the elevated ridge in question is curious[3].

In much more ancient times we find legends of mythical personages, the belief in whose existence and exploits in this part of the island, is perhaps still more likely to have given rise to the name of the place. It will, however, be soon enough to examine the story of Otos and Ephialtes on finding the site of the city Biennos.

It being now almost sunset I thought it prudent, instead of going on to Hághio Vasíli this evening, to turn off to the left soon after passing the fountain. After going about a mile to the southward, we arrived at the village of Sykológo. The chief produce of its fields is corn, although it possesses wine and oil enough for its own consumption.

Many coins were brought to me: they were almost all Venetian. Out of a party of half a dozen Greeks

[2] Τοῦ σαραντατήχου τὸ μνῆμα, the tomb of the man forty cubits high.

[3] GENESIUS, p. 22. A. ed. Ven. or p. 47. ed. Bonn. Σαΐπου δὲ Βάβδελ,—ᾧ τεσσαρακοντάπηχυς τὸ ἐπώνυμον.

not one knows the year, or has any idea of an *era*. They reckon neither from Christ nor Mohammed; but tell me that they believe in Christ: on my asking who he was, they answer, "How should we know? we are ignorant peasants, and only know how to cultivate our fields and vineyards." Scarcely any Cretan Greeks, except some of the Patéres in the monasteries, have ever heard of the Christian era; but they all date events one by another. Thus, in Crete, the year of the great earthquake; the time when Khadjí Osmán-pashá was governor of Khaniá; the outbreaking of the Greek revolution; the peace of Khuseín-bey; the war of Khadjí Mikháli; and the final submission to the Egyptians, are the principal epochs to which all the events of the last five-and-twenty years are referred.

A priest of Sykológo, my host and his wife all contribute to increase my stock of Madhinádhas[4].

In me behold the lightning's son,
The thunder's dearest child:
Therefore my thunderbolts I hurl,
And cause the snow-storm wild[5].

While wandering through the world I've turned
On east and west my gaze;
But face like thine I ne'er beheld,
Bright as the diamond's blaze[6].

[4] Some of those which I obtained here are given above, in Chapter XVII.

[5] Ἐγὼ 'μαι σ' ἀστραπῆς παιδί,
κ' ἔτσι βροντῆς ἀγόνι,
καὶ θέλω στράφτω καὶ βροντῶ,
καὶ θέλω ῥίκτω χιόνι.

[6] Ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ἐγύρισα,
πονέντι καὶ λεβάντι·
δὲν εἶδα τέτοιον πρόσωπον,
νὰ λάμπει σὰν διαμάντι.

March 27.

A Patéras, sent on a circuit by the monastery of Hághios Antónios, which is situated in Mesará, and not far from Fair Havens, is now in this village endeavouring to obtain eleemosynary contributions to enable himself and his fellows, as he says, again to cultivate the possessions of the monastery. Its Hegúmenos fled, during the revolution, to a metókhi belonging to them near Smyrna, where he still resides. The donation which the monk generally succeeds in obtaining, is sometimes bestowed in money, but more commonly in oil, of which each family gives one, two, or three okes, according to its means. Any other contribution *in kind* is also willingly taken. To enable the mendicant monk to carry off all these gifts, he is accompanied by an attendant and a mule: so that the animal performs a similar religious service to that discharged by the ass of Apuleius[7].

It seems that the site of Leben, and therefore the ruins of its celebrated temple, must be in the neighbourhood of that monastery. Thus St Antónios exercises, on the Cretans of the present day, claims similar, in all probability, to those of his neighbour and predecessor Asclepios in ancient times[8].

A ride of little more than an hour from Sykológo brought us to the village of Lower Pévkos, about which are many fine platanes, with a few olive-trees interspersed

[7] APULEIUS, Metamorph. VIII. 174. "Stipes aereas, immo vero et argenteas, multis certatim offerentibus, sinu recepere patulo: nec non et vini cadum, et lactem, et caseos, et farris et siliginis aliquid, et nonnullis hordeum Deae gerulo donantibus, avidis animis corradentes omnia, et sacculos huic quaestui de industria praeparatos farcientes, dorso meo congerunt." The English Poet Laureat, SKELTON, Colyn Clout,

> And for to have his fees,
> Some to gather cheese,
> Lothe they are to lese
> Eyther corn or mault,
> Sometime meale and sault,
> Sometime a bacon flicke
> That is three fingers thycke
> Of larde and of greace,
> Their couent to encrease.

[8] Above, pp. 122—124. and APULEIUS, l. c.

among them. Maniás found several persons of his acquaintance here, as was the case in most places where I stopped throughout the island. In less than half an hour after leaving Pévkos we arrived at Hághio Vasíli, which we found almost deserted, nearly all its inhabitants being out gathering their olives.

We left Hághio Vasíli at twelve, and, after descending towards the sea for somewhat more than two miles, came in sight of the coast, from the summit of a steep range of rocks running nearly due east and west. They are distant only about a mile from the sea. From this place I was nearly half an hour in descending by a zigzag path along the face of the hills, down into the little plain of Arví. It produces corn, and is about six hundred paces long, and two hundred paces wide. On my left I notice a river which flows through the plain to the sea: it is the same that we have already crossed twice this morning, and passes through a narrow cleft in the rocks which bound the plain on its northern side. The appearance of the cleft is picturesque: wild carobs and cypresses have fixed themselves wherever a handful of earth has made it possible for them to take root: and so little earth is there in these crevices that the trees seem to grow out of the solid rock.

The Melióte employed by Sir Pulteney Malcolm to make excavations in Crete, heard, when at Hághio Vasíli, a few months since, of the discovery, many years ago, near the shore at Arví, of a monument of ancient art. It was broken in pieces by the peasants, when they found it, probably to see whether gold was contained within its solid marble: and several fragments of it were found by the Melióte, in the houses of peasants in this neighbourhood. A few hours excavation, at the spot pointed out to him near the shore, brought to light many additional pieces. When I saw the man a fortnight ago, at Megálo-Kástron, he assured me that he had obtained every single fragment of the monument. The account which he gave of the parts which he had

found, left no doubt that they must have formed a sarcophagus[9].

On going down close to the shore, I see the spot where the fragments were found: the excavators have left several fragments of marble, and the massive ornamented covering of the sarcophagus. On some of the fragments now lying here are parts of a horse—his quarter and tail, foreleg and shoulder; a young female head and many smaller pieces. No traces are any longer discernible of the walls of a city, or of any ancient buildings; but I am assured by inhabitants of the village of Hághio Vasíli, that they can remember the times when there still existed several remains of ancient walls: they were chiefly used in building the church.

We learn from Stephanus of Byzantium, that there was a Mount Arbios in Crete, where Zeus Arbios was honoured, and that the inhabitant of the Mountain was called an Arbian[10].

I suppose the site of the Arbios-Zeus-worship to have been on the rocks which we have just passed; and that, in ancient times, the "Arbian" may have dwelt in and cultivated this little plain.

On going westward from the plain of Arví, we follow the shore for about half an hour. Great masses of imbedded shells are seen in the rocks, to the height of near fifty feet above the sea-level. There are some very large masses of gypsum or selenite seen here. After leaving the sea, we are twenty-five minutes in traversing an uncultivated plain, and then begin to ascend, and leaving the Kastel-Keraton of the Venetians on our left, arrive at Viános about two hours after leaving Arví.

The name of the village Viános, written in modern Greek Biános[11], reminds us that there was formerly a place called Biennos in Crete. We learn from the Coast-

[9] See Vol. II. Chapter XXI.

[10] STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, Ἄρβις—ἔστι καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ Ἄρβιος ὄρος, ἐνθα τιμᾶται Ἄρβιος Ζεύς. Ἄρβιος οὖν ὁ κατοικῶν τὸ ὄρος.

[11] Ἡ Βιάνο.

describer[12], that it was a small city at some distance from the sea. He places it midway between Hierapytna, and Leben, the most eastern of the two parts of Gortyna. All these indications agree very well with the situation of this place, the name of which is so slightly altered from that of the ancient city.

There can be no doubt but that the Blenna of the Peutinger table is the Bienos of the Coast-describer. We find in Hierocles[13] this city's name under the form Bienna. He places it between Inatos and Hierapytna. According to the Peutinger Table[14], Bienna was twenty miles distant from Hierapytna: we should have found about twenty miles between Hierapytna and this place, if we had not gone out of our way to visit Arví. The same table fixes Bienna at thirty miles from Arcadia. Now, as the bird flies, this place is somewhat less than thirty miles from Krítsa, where, as we shall hereafter see, Arcadia in all probability existed; but the lofty mountains of Lassíthi are interposed between the two sites, and therefore, to avoid those almost impassable elevations, the road between them may have taken a southern or even a south-easterly direction at first after leaving Arcadia, and may thus have been rendered somewhat longer than it would otherwise have been.

Although neither the name nor situation of Viáno, with its river and plain, are distinguishable in Lapie, I find the "Valle di Vianes" rightly laid down by Boschini in his first map, which he calls "Il Regno di Candia."

[12] IRIARTE, p. 492. GAIL, Geographi Graeci Minores, T. II. p. 495. Ἀπὸ Ἱερᾶς Πύδνης εἰς Βίενον σταδ. ὁ. πολίδριόν ἐστιν ἄνεχον τῆς θαλάσσης. Ἀπὸ Βιένου εἰς Λέβηναν σταδ. ὁ. For ἀνέχον it has been proposed to read ἀπέχον. I feel no doubt that ρο' must in each case have been the distance given by the author. Three hundred and forty stades is nearly the real distance between Hierapytna and Leben, and Viáno is about midway between their sites.

[13] HIEROCLES, Synecdemus, p. 649. ed. Wess. (quoted by CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Tom. I. p. 234.) Ἴνατος, Βιέννα, Ἱερατύδνα.

[14] Segm. VIII. ed. Lips. 1824.

The site of Biennos has been supposed to have been near Cape Sídhero. Undoubtedly such a situation may be consistent with the distance of the Peutinger Table, but thus the author of the Periplus, the testimony of which is quite conclusive as to the situation of Biennos with respect to Leben and Hierapytna, is totally disregarded. If we could suppose Biennos to have been near Cape Sídhero, there too we find legends, of much less antiquity, it is true, than those, already alluded to, respecting Otos and Ephialtes, which tell of the discovery of the bones and skulls of giants, many of whom were eight or ten times the size of common men[15].

Other remains are spoken of as found, by whom I know not, near the south shore, at a considerable distance to the east of Hághii Saránta: and Dr Cramer supposes that they "may possibly correspond with the ancient Bienna or Biennos, since we know from the Table and Maritime Itinerary that it was situated in this direction[16]." We have seen that the Maritime Itinerary places Biennos to the *west* of Hierapytna, while the site spoken of by Dr Cramer is above twenty miles to the *east* of that place[17].

The giant's tomb, which we saw yesterday, is fitly found in the neighbourhood of Biennos. The contest of Otos and Ephialtes with Ares is said to have taken place near this city[18]. It ended in the victory of the

[15] ANDREA CORNARO, Historia di Candia, ap. CORNEL. Cret. Sacr. T. I. p. 117.

[16] Dr CRAMER, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 373.

[17] Dr Cramer seems here, as in other cases, to have been led into a great error, by implicitly following that treacherous guide, Lapie's Map. I observe the "ruines de Blenna" laid down in it a little to the east of the Erythraean promontory. Professor Hoeck's observation, "Die Stellung mehrerer alter Staedte bey Lapie erscheint uebrigens in Widerspruch mit alten Angaben," Kreta, Vol. III. p. X. is so true, that examples of it may be found in every part of the island.

[18] STEPHANUS BYZANT. *Βίεννος, πόλις Κρήτης. οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Βιέννου τοῦ τῶν Κουρήτων ἐνός· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄρη γενομένης βίας, ἣν ἐνταῦθά φασιν ἀπὸ Ὄτου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου τῶν παίδων Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ μέχρι καὶ νῦν τὰ καλούμενα ἑκατομφόνια θύεται τῷ Ἄρει. ὁ πολίτης* Βιέννιος.

giant sons of Aloeus over the god, whom they threw into bonds[19]. From this violent conflict Biennos is said to have derived its name. The Otian plains, so called from Otos, who is reported to have been buried there, were also in Crete[20], and I suppose that the tomb which I saw yesterday may be the locality of this old tradition.

Buondelmonti[21] speaks of a Cretan city Sarandopolis, formerly inhabited by giants, and from which the modern eparkhía of Setía derived its name! Traces of the same popular notions, of the fifteenth century, are also found in the work of Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti, as cited by Torres y Ribera[22], and again appear in the History of Andrea Cornaro[23]. These traditions, however, point

[19] HOMER, Il. v. 385. who does not fix the place where the events which he describes took place. See also PHOTIUS, Biblioth. 444. b. 3. and passages of CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS and ARNOBIUS, quoted by JORTIN, in his Tracts.

[20] SERVIUS, on Virgil, Aen. III. 578. "Est in Sicilia, Enceladus; Othus, in Creta, secundum Salustium: unde Othii campi." The same words are used in BODE'S Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum, Tom. I. p. 92. (L. II. c. 53.)

[21] BONDELMONTIUS, Insulae Archipelagi, p. 68. ed. Sinner. "Deinde ad Holopixopolim, hodie Istrinam concurro, in qua fons octo molendinorum aperitur; et juxta sequendo mare, oppida in summitalibus montium alia, quorum in medio Sarandopolis, civitas olim gigantum erat, a qua Sectia derivata est."

[22] TORRES Y RIBERA, p. 55. The order of Bartolomeo seems to bring this Sarandopolis into Rhizó-kastro: "Candichum, *vel* Candia, Bicorna, Istrina, Cholopixoli, Atali, Cambruxa, Lulachi, Ierapoli, Mileto, Chersoneso, *seu* Altamura, Serandopoli, *gigantum sedes*, Retemo." This *Isolario* of Bartolomeo, which is only known to me from Torres y Ribera's account of it, consists wholly of woodcuts and sonnets, descriptive of the islands of Greece and Asia Minor. It was published about the year 1480, and is the earliest printed work which gave an account of the topography of any part of ancient Greece. It was strictly a periplus, as may be seen by the names mentioned of Cretan cities. He had been an eye-witness of all that he describes to his reader:

> Quindici volte in trireme son stato;
> *Ho più volte ogni insula calcata,*
> E porti, e valli, e scogli sporchi e netti.
> Con bossolo per venti ho i capi retti,
> Colle mie proprie man picta ho ciaschuna,
> Col stilo in charta ciaschuna ho segnata.

[23] As cited in CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Tom. I. p. 117.

rather to the lofty mountain chain, between the districts of Hierápetra and Sitía, than to this eparkhía of Rhizókastron, as the region where the giants formerly flourished.

We learn also from Diodorus of Sicily[24] that one of Zeus's engagements with the giants took place in this island: it was here that Mylinos was destroyed.

One wonders not to find a deity, the earth-shaking son of Kronos, described as the father of the giant-babes of Iphimedeia, for

> Of ill-joined sons and daughters born
> First from the ancient world those giants came,
> With many a vain exploit, though then renown'd.

Otus and Ephialtes were nine cubits in breadth, and twenty-seven cubits in height[25], so that if the giant's tomb which I saw yesterday belongs to Otos, tradition has increased his stature. According to the common accounts, they were slain by Apollo[26] or Artemis[27]: Pindar[28] and Apollodorus[29] both speak of Naxos as the island where they died[30].

[24] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 71.

[25] HOMER, Odyss. XI. 311.

> Ἐννέωροι γὰρ τοίγε καὶ ἐννεαπήχεες ἦσαν
> εὖρος, ἀτὰρ μῆκός γε γενέσθην ἐννεόργυιοι.

VIRGIL'S expression, Aen. VI. 582. is less definite:

> Hic et Aloidas geminos, immania vidi
> Corpora.

[26] HOMER, Odyss. XI. 318. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, I. 484. NONNUS, XX. 64. 81. PAUSANIAS, IX. 754. HYGINUS, Fab. XXVIII.

[27] EUSTATHIUS, on Odyss. XI. p. 1687. HYGINUS, l. c. PINDAR'S SCHOLIAST, Pyth. IV. 156.

[28] PINDAR, Pyth. IV. 156.

> Ἐν δὲ Νάξῳ
> φαντὶ θανεῖν λιπαρᾷ Ἰφιμεδεί-
> ας παῖδας Ὦτον καὶ σέ, τολ-
> μάεις Ἐπιάλτα ἄναξ.

[29] APOLLODORUS, I. 7. 4.

[30] According to EUSTATHIUS, on IL. V. p. 560. 6. it was to Naxos that Ares fled when released by Hermes from the prison into which Otos and Ephialtes

A different form of the legend, as relates to Ephialtes, is represented on some curious and interesting vases, which have lately been engraved and described[31]. On one of them the god of the sea, "distinguished by his trident and the inscription Poseidon[32], is represented uplifting a huge mass, apparently of rock, with which he overwhelms a warrior who is falling under the enormous weight, and attempts in vain to resist the superior power of the deity. The inscription placed near this figure gives the name Ephialtes[33]." It is pretty evident that the painter of this vase did not follow the common story which makes Poseidon the father of the Aloidae. On a second vase a similar victory of Poseidon over Ephialtes, has, opposite to it, Artemis in combat with a warrior, doubtless Otos, whom she vanquishes.

Perhaps Otos's burial in Crete may be connected with the legend, that he fell by the hand of the huntress goddess Artemis, in consequence of his presumption in having dared to raise his eyes to her. It was in Crete, also, that Orion perished, according to an account mentioned by Eratosthenes[34]. Tradition attributed the goddess's anger against them both to the same cause[35].

Ephialtes had thrown him. Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς χαριζόμενος τῇ Ἥρᾳ ἐξέκλεψε τὸν Ἄρην, ὅθεν φυγὼν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Νάξον. See also the inscription in BOECKH's Corpus Inscriptionum.

[31] By Mr MILLINGEN, Ancient Unedited Monuments, pp. 17—22.

[32] ΠΟΣΕΙΔΟΝ.

[33] ΕΦΙΑΛΤΕΣ. Mr MILLINGEN observes that the artist has transferred to Ephialtes the story commonly told of Polybotes. See PAUSANIAS, I. p. 6. APOLLODORUS, I. 6. STEPHANUS BYZANT. v. Νίσυρος. STRABO, X. p. 489.

[34] ERATOSTHENES, Cataster. XXXII. Ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Κρήτην καὶ περὶ τὰς θήρας διῆγε, κυνηγετῶν, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος παρούσης κ. τ. λ.

[35] SCHOLIA on Odyss. v. 121. HORACE, Od. III. 4. 70. NICANDER, Ther. 16. To this Artemis herself alludes in CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Artemis, v. 264.

—— Οὐδὲ γὰρ Ὦτος,
Οὐδὲ μὲν Ὠαρίων ἀγαθὸν γάμον ἐμνήστευσαν.

Although

Many ancient legends would make us consider the Aloidae as originally Thracians. They were said to have assisted in founding Ascra at the foot of Mount Helicon[36], which, as well as Olympus, is known to have been occupied by a Thracian colony[37]. We also find the Thracians at Anthedon in Boeotia[38]; where people used to shew, even in the time of Pausanias, the tombs of these giants near a temple of Dionysos[39]. The legend of the death of Otos and Ephialtes in Naxos, reminds us of its early occupation by a colony of Thracians[40], to whom it also was indebted for the Dionysian worship[41]. The island had been called Strongyle before their arrival: they gave it the name Dia, which it retained until, on the spread of Carian pirates through the Egean, it fell into the hands of a Carian chief, Naxos, by whom it was called after his own name[42]. The worship of Dionysos, which had thus been established in Naxos at so early a period, continued to flourish under the Carian rule, that is during the time when intimate relations became established between the islanders of the Egean and the Cretans: and, in all

Although NONNUS mentions Apollo as their destroyer, yet he describes their offence against the goddess: Dionys. XLIV. 304.

Σὸς παῖς ἔλλαχε λέκτρα, τὰ μὴ λάχεν Ὦτος ἀγήνωρ·
οὐ θρασὺς Ὠρίωνα πέλε νύμφιος Ἰοχεαίρης.

and again XLVIII. 403.

Εἰ δὲ πάλιν θρασὺς Ὦτος, ἢ αὐχήεις Ἐπιάλτης
συζυγίην μενέαινε τεῶν ἀκίχητον ἐρώτων.

[36] HEGESINOUS, in Pausanias, IX. p. 765.

[37] STRABO, IX. p. 410. X. p. 471. MUELLER'S Orchomenos, p. 381.

[38] LYCOPHRON, Alexand. 754.

Ἀστῷ σύνοικος Θρηκίας Ἀνθηδόνος.

STEPHANUS BYZANT. v. Ἀνθηδών, and EUSTATHIUS, on Homer IL. II. p. 271. The important consequences of the presence of these Thracians in Greece are mentioned by Mr THIRLWALL, History of Greece, Vol. I. Ch. II. pp. 46–7.

[39] PAUSANIAS, IX. p. 754. Τούτων δή ἐστιν ἐν Ἀνθηδόνι μνήματα.

[40] See DIODORUS SICULUS, V. 51. and MUELLER'S Orchomenos, p. 387.

[41] DIODORUS SICULUS, V. 52. [42] Ibid. V. 51.

likelihood, Dionysos and the sons of Aloeus were transferred at the same time from Naxos to Crete[43].

We learn from Eratosthenes[44], that when the youthful Zeus was closely pursued by Kronos, he fled from Crete, and took up his abode at Naxos, where he dwelt until he obtained the empire of Heaven. The well-known story of Theseus and Ariadne is also of importance as shewing the closeness of this connexion between the two islands[45].

Opheltes, who somewhat resembles Ephialtes in name, is one of the Cretan chieftains mentioned by the Panopolitan poet as having fallen, under the spear of the celebrated Deriades, in Dionysos's Indian expedition[46]. The bones of Arestor's son were, however, restored by Asterios to his native land, where a lofty monument was constructed over them by the Corybantes[47]. According to the poet, the name and country of Opheltes were recorded in the inscription,

> Cnossian Opheltes here a corpse is laid,
> In India's war who gave to Bromios aid.

But it is time to return from these ancient myths and legends to the examination of more material objects.

[43] See HOECK's Kreta, Vol. III. p. 179.

[44] ERATOSTHENES, Catasterism. 30. He relates the story on the authority of Aglaosthenes in his Naxica. See also Catasterism. n. 2, from which it appears that this supposed flight took place while he was still an infant.

[45] See HOECK's Kreta, Vol. II. p. 150.

[46] NONNUS, Dionys. XXXII. 185.

> Τίς θάνε, τίς δούπησεν ὑπ' ἔγχεϊ Δηριαδῆος;
> Αἰβίαλος, Θύαμίς τε, καὶ Ὀρμένιος καὶ Ὀφέλτης.

[47] NONNUS, l. c. XXXVII. 91.

> Ἀστέριος δέ
> ὀστέα συλλέξας, κεκαλυμμένα δίπλακι δημῷ,
> ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην κατεθήκατο λείψανα νεκροῦ.
> καὶ τροχαλοὶ Κορύβαντες, ἐπεὶ λάχον ἔνδιον Ἴδης,
> τύμβον ἐτορνώσαντο——
> καὶ κόνιν ὀθνείην πυμάτην ἐπέχευαν Ὀφέλτῃ,
> καὶ τάφον αἰπυτέροισιν ἀνεστήσαντο δομαίοις,
> τοῖον ἐπιγράψαντες ἔπος νεοπενθεῖ τύμβῳ·
> Νεκρὸς Ἀρεστορίδης μιννώριος ἐνθάδε κεῖται,
> Κνώσσιος, Ἰνδοφόνος, Βρομίου συνάεθλος, Ὀφέλτης.

All the oil produced in the district of Rhizó-kastron is sent to the Kástron: the distance which it has to be carried varies from twelve to fifty-four miles. The eparkhía thus exports oil alone: its corn does not suffice for the home-consumption. The only place where there are almond-trees in the district is Sykológo. There has been a small company of regular Arab troops stationed at Viáno for two years. My host Anagnóstes, the Proestós of the village, has already learnt enough Arabic to be able to converse with them without an interpreter.

CLEFT AT ARVI.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MUEZIN'S SUMMONS TO PRAYER. THE USE OF BELLS IN GREEK CHURCHES. THE PROBABLE SITES OF INATOS, PRIANSOS, AND PRAESOS. AN INTERESTING INSCRIPTION. THE SITES OF PYRANTHOS, STELAE, ASTERUSIA, AND PYLOROS. ARRIVAL AT HAGHIUS DHEKA.

March 28.

I WAS awakened this morning about an hour before sunrise, by the crowing of cocks, and the voice of the Muezin, heard beautifully through the stillness of the night, as he summoned all true believers to the house of prayer. Captain Maniás uttered a bitter curse on every

foule paynim,
That 'leeveth on Mahound,

when I disturbed his slumbers by asking whether he

heard the call to the mosque[1], and the assurance that "prayer is better than sleep[2]."

For the purpose of summoning the congregation to church, bells were in use among the Greeks in the eleventh century[3], and among the Latins at a more remote period, perhaps even in the age of Justinian[4]: but the earlier practice of the Christians, of both churches, was to use long boards which were struck with an iron rod or hammer[5]. They were called by the same name as was afterwards applied to bells[6]. These long boards were in common use, among the Syrian and Arabian Christians, in the time of the Prophet, and were

[1] Djiamí, the Turkish name by which the mosque is known and hated by the Greeks.

[2] Since the above was written I have found that Von Hammer bears testimony to the effect of the summons to prayer when thus pronounced: "Die feyerlichste Wirkung desselben auf Ohr und Sinn bringt derselbe (Gebethausruf) hervor, wenn er durch das Schweigen der Nacht, und durch die Strahlen des Fruehroths hervorbricht, wenn den Erwachenden der harmonische Zuruf *Ahsen es-Salat minen-Naum*, das Gebeth ist besser als der Schlaf, in die Ohren toent, und die erste Morgenroethe freundlich durch die Fenster blinkt." Von Hammer, Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reiches, p. 396.

[3] Du Cange, Glossar. Graec. p. 774.

[4] Du Cange, Glossar. med. et inf. Latin. v. *Nolarium*. Reiske, on Constantine Porphyrogenitus, p. 170, 12. ed. Bonn. 1830. (100. C. ed. L.)

[5] Du Cange, v. Σημεῖον. Muratori, Antiquitates Italicae, Diss. xxxiii. v. Tempella. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, p. 334, l. (p. 194, C. 12. ed. L.) Τοῦ δὲ ξύλου σημαίνοντος τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας ἐγείρονται καὶ ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Reiske, l. c. On the use of three bells, in the churches of monasteries, Theodore, patriarch of Antioch, has written a treatise: see Lambecius, Comment. de Biblioth. Vindob. Lib. viii. p. 993. ed. Kollar. Vindob. 1782, where its title is given: Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Ἀντιοχείας κυροῦ Θεοδώρου μελέτη, χάριν τῆς εἰς τοὺς θείους ναοὺς τῶν μοναστηρίων γινομένης μετακλήσεως διὰ σημαντήρων τριῶν.

[6] Σημάντρα· see Reiske, l. c. Koray, ATAKTA, Vol. iv. p. 496. v. Σήμασμα. One of the many songs with which Captain Maniás used to while away the time as we travelled, began thus:

Μία κυριακὴν ἡμέρα
καί ἤτονι καὶ λαμπρή,
τὰ σημάντρα κτύπησαν
εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Κωσταντί.

adopted by him along with other Christian practices; but soon became so displeasing to many of his followers, that he appointed the mode of summoning which awakened us this morning, and which is still observed, in order to convene the true believers, in every Mohammedan house of prayer[7].

I rose at the summons of the Muezin, and started by sunrise to visit the old Venetian or Genoese castle which we had passed yesterday. About a mile on this side of it, a rocky ridge running east and west would convert the plain to the north of it towards Viáno into a lake, were there not a perpendicular cleft in the rocks, through which, as at Arví, the river flows. I had heard of a fine and extensive cavern to be seen in the eastern side of the mountain, on the summit of which the Venetian fort, Kastel-keraton, is built; and I should have been glad to have explored its recesses and to have admired its beauty. But it seemed impossible to visit it without sacrificing the whole day to that single object; and, therefore, after enjoying the fine prospect from Kastel-keraton, I returned straight to Viáno, obtained some breakfast, and, at one o'clock, started on my journey towards the great Gortynian plain.

Our path led us over the mountains to the west of Viáno, and we had to face a bitterly cold westerly wind

[7] "E Tebrizio ad Hamasam porro intelligimus, ipsum Muhammedem, qui instituta quam plurima a Christianis Syris et Arabicis assumsit, prius Nacuso (*Nakus* is the Arabic word used to denote the σήμαντρον, as in the verse of the Arabian poet Gerir, quoted by Reiske, *expergefacit me cantus gallorum, et pulsatio Nakusorum*) fuisse usum, donec videns suis morem Christianum ex odio religionis displicere, praecones illos instituerit, qui clara voce precum tempora e turribus significarent. Verba ejus in ultimo Hamasae fine haec sunt: الناقوس الذي تضرب به النصاري لاوقات الصلوات والنقس ضرب الناقوس وفي الحديث كانوا ينقسون حتي راي عبد الله بن زيد الاذان في المنام. Fuit igitur ille mos jam ante Muhammedem; quod etiam e superius citato auctore de miraculis S. Athanasii constaret, si spurius non esset." REISKE, on the Ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, l. c.

the whole afternoon. We also endured a heavy hail-storm between two and three o'clock: it lasted nearly twenty minutes. Soon after three we came on the western summit of the hills which overlook the plain of Mesará. A descent of half an hour brought us into the plain: we forded a tributary stream of the river Súdsuro a little above their junction, and, somewhat less than a mile further on, crossed a bridge of three arches, about forty paces long, over the Súdsuro itself. A mile further is the village of Lútra, which, with two or three other hamlets in the neighbourhood, is known by the name Kastelianá, derived from the Venetian fortress Castle Belvedere, situated on a hill a little to the north of the villages, and very conspicuous from every side.

Praesos having been supposed, by many scholars, to be situated somewhere in this neighbourhood, as it is also laid down by Lapie in his map of Crete, I thought it right to be more than usually diligent in my inquiries after ancient remains, and to examine carefully the site of the old Venetian fortress on the hill, although I felt quite satisfied that no vestiges, which I might find, could ever have belonged to that city.

I did not see the least trace of any thing more ancient than the middle-age walls, cisterns, churches and houses, which are now in ruins on its summit. This castle is described as having been destroyed, and but little inhabited, in short as a ruin, nearly a century before the Venetians lost the island[8].

Though I found no antiquities, I was however rewarded for my trouble by a glorious sunset. The rich beams of the setting orb, as they shone over the long and beautiful plain of Mesará, gave a beauty to the landskip which fully justified the Venetians in the name they bestowed on the spot.

This situation, on a lofty hill surrounded by a fertile plain, seems so likely to have been chosen in ancient

[8] FOSCARINI, Relatione etc. f. 34. "Castel hora destrutto, e poco habitato e si può dir rovinato."

times, that, in spite of the non-existence of vestiges of antiquity at the spot, we turn to the Greek writers with a confident expectation of finding indications of some city as having existed hereabouts.

Hierocles[9] mentions Inatos between Bienna and Gortyna. The Peutinger table places Lisia, by which Leben seems to be indicated, sixteen miles from Gortyna, and Inata twenty-four miles to the east of Lisia, and thirty-two miles to the west of Hierapytna. The table also puts Inata on a river. These distances agree well with the situation of Castle Belvedere. Inatos is also mentioned by Ptolemy[10], and is doubtless[11] the Einatos of Hesychius, the Etymologist, and Stephanus of Byzantium[12]. The goddess Eileithyia is said to have been worshipped at this place, and to have obtained one of her epithets from it[13].

It may, perhaps, if not the site of Inatos, be that of Priansos. At all events, both Inatos and Priansos must have been in this neighbourhood: if Inatos was here, Priansos was, in all likelihood, nearer the mouth of the Súdsuro. Priansos is well known by its coins, and by the treaty between its citizens and the Hierapytnians among the Oxford marbles[14]. The various maritime symbols exhibited on the Priansian coins, would lead us to place it near the shore: the palm-tree, which some of them exhibit, calls to our recollection the coins

[9] HIEROCLES, Synecdem. p. 649.

[10] PTOLEMY, III. 17. p. 91.

[11] WESSELING, on Hierocles, p. 645. and HOECK's Kreta, Vol. I. p. 412.

[12] See HESYCHIUS and the ETYMOLOGICON, in Εἴνατος. STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM says, Εἴνατος, πόλις Κρήτης, ὡς Ξενίων φησί, τὸ ἐθνικὸν Εἰνάτιος. τινὲς δὲ ὄρος καὶ ποταμὸν ἐν ᾧ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν Εἰλείθυιαν Εἰνατίνην.

[13] Εἰνατία, by which alone she is designated in CALLIMACHUS, Fr. 168. (Tom. I. p. 379. Graev. or p. 505. Ernest.)

[14] Given in BOECKH, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, n. 2556. (Vol. II. p. 411.) The two coins of Priansos, engraved at the head of the next chapter, are at Bologna; the smaller one in the Gabinetto Numismatico of the University, the larger in the possession of the Marquis Angelelli.

of Hierapytna; and the figure of Asclepios reminds us of his temple at Leben, a little to the west of this district.

These considerations, on which it would be easy to dwell at much greater length, seem therefore sufficient to justify us in placing Priansos on or near the south coast, between Hierapytna and Leben.

Strabo[15] must have confounded the two totally distinct cities, when he spoke of them under a common name, and assigned them a single situation, both close to Mount Dikte, and, at the same time, conterminous with *the Lebeneans*, whose city was three days' journey from the mountain[16].

As to the situation of Praesos, it is incontrovertibly fixed by existing vestiges: its site is now called Praesús[17], and is found about six miles inland from the ruins of Setía. If additional proof were wanted, it would be obtained from a very long, and, on many accounts, extremely interesting inscription, which I copied at Plu-Monastéri, and in which the Praesian district is described as lying between those of Hierapytna and Itanos[18], the situations of both which places are known.

[15] STRABO, x. §. 12. p. 478. "Ομοροι δ' εισιν αὐτοῖς (he is speaking of Leben) οἱ Πραίσιοι, τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ξ' σταδίους, Γόρτυνος δὲ διέχοντες ἑκατὸν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα· (this is true only of *Priansos*:) Εἴρηται δ' ὅτι τῶν Ἐτεοκρήτων ὑπῆρξεν ἡ Πραῖσος, καὶ ὅτι ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ Δίκτη πλησίον, οὐχ, ὡς Ἄρατος, σχεδὸν ὄρεος Ἰδαίου, and so on, all of which applies only to the site of *Praesos*, far away to the *eastward* of Hierapytna.

[16] It is well observed by MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VIII. p. 712. "In zwei Stellen entfernt er, (Strabo,) dieses Prasos 180 Stadien von Gortynia, welches in Zusammenhaltung mit der nebrigen Angabe eine Unmoeglichkeit ist."

[17] Πραισοὺς or Πρασοὺς is the present name of the site of Praesos. I visited it in the following month of August. It had been truly described, a long time ago, by CORONELLI, who says, in his Isolario, "All' ostro di Sittia ma più dentro terra veggonsi le rovine de *Pressos* città d'angusto recinto. Ivi si osservano ancora le vestigie e gli avanzi di case ed altri edifici, tavole, marmi, e colonne; ed i lavoratori della terra ritrovano molte medaglie antiche."

[18] In line 45 of the opposite inscription we read, Τῆς Πραισίων πόλεος τῆς κειμένης ἀνάμεσον Ἰτανίων τε καὶ Ἱεραπυτνίων. The reader

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It may be added that the coins of Praesos exhibit very different emblems from those of the maritime city Priansos. At the Dictaean city we have Zeus, and one of the bees, which, according to the legend, fed him with honey in his infancy: we have also the bull: Demeter and Apollo. At Priansos we find Poseidon and his trident: the dolphin: the palm-tree: Asclepios and his serpent.

The attempts of very distinguished living scholars to maintain the identity of these two cities[19], and even to explain the one name as a dialectic form[20] of the other, must therefore fall to the ground.

The villages in this neighbourhood, and generally throughout the plain of Mesará, suffered greatly during the war. There were here no lofty and almost inaccessible mountains to flee to as a place of refuge. In most of the villages full three-fourths of the houses are in ruins. One which formerly contained twenty houses has now only two. "A single day suffices for clearing a plain," says Captain Maniás.

The eparkhía of Rhizókastro extends a little to the west of Kastelianá. The grammatikós of Viáno and other persons have supplied me with a list of all the villages of the district. One of them is Pýrathi. Now there was an ancient city, if I may use the word city of what seems to have been a very insignificant place and little more than a village, called Pyranthos[21], which belonged to Gortyna, and the name Pýrathi is so manifest a corruption of Pyranthos, that we can hardly doubt of that city's district having been among these

reader may also compare l. 8. of the same inscription (*κεχειροτονημένων καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοῦ*) with what has been said above, at pp. 41–42. on the Demos in the Cretan states.

[19] HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 413.

[20] BOECKH, Corpus Inscr. Graec. Vol. II. p. 405. (in his dissertation, De dialecto Inscriptionum Creticarum, §. 9.)

[21] STEPHANUS BYZANT. *Πύρανθος, πόλις μικρά, ἡ κώμη τῆς Κρήτης περὶ Γόρτυνα, οἱ κατοικοῦντες Πυράνθιοι.*

low slopes at the end of the plain of Gortyna, near the Katarrhaktes, and a little to the north-east of Kastelianá. I observe also that the name of a village adjacent to Pýrathi is Kamáres, a name which frequently denotes the site or vicinity of an ancient city.

Before pursuing my journey along the plain of Gortyna, I will return for a moment to the consideration of the situation of Priansos. Biennos seems, from the notice of it contained in the Maritime Itinerary, to have been a small place. We therefore know nothing of any ancient city of much consideration between Leben and Hierapytna. But the tract is very extensive, and the mountains of Rhizó-kastron are filled with fertile valleys, which, when Crete was flourishing and full of cities[22], must have been cultivated. Thus a situation on the south coast, somewhere between Hierapytna and Leben, agrees with the physical appearances of this part of the island, as well as with the ancient authors. There is ample room in the district in question for a city like Priansos, which appears, both from its preserved coins and from its treaty with Hierapytna, to have been a considerable place.

In the vicinity of this Priansos too, we must place Stelae, described by the Byzantine geographer[23], as a Cretan city near two towns which are called, in the published editions of his work, Paraesos and Rhythimna. That Paraesos should have usurped the place of Priansos is not very surprising: and in the word Rhythimna, the attention is immediately attracted to the *y*, which does not appear at the beginning of the city's name, Rhithymna, on the north coast. Rhytion, in all probability, is the word for which the corruption should make

[22] ODYSSEY, XIX. 172.

Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἐστί, μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,
καλὴ καὶ πίειρα, περίῤῥυτος· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι
πολλοί, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόληες.

[23] STEPHANUS BYZANT. Στῆλαι, πόλις Κρήτης, πλησίον Παραισοῦ καὶ Ῥυθίμνης.

way[24]. Homer mentions it along with Phaestos, which was near the other end of the plain[25]. We learn from Strabo[26] that this city belonged to the Gortynians, and its citizens are mentioned by Nonnus[27] immediately after those of Gortyna. Its name is also found in Pliny, and in Stephanus of Byzantium.

March 29.

I rose at four, but could not set off till a quarter past five. In half an hour we passed the Mohammedan village of Phílippo: both men and women come out, the women unveiled, with no more reserve than Christians of their sex, and with the same curiosity to know who we are and whither we are going. We pass several villages at the foot of the low range of hills on our left; a bare enumeration of their names will be a sufficient notice of most of them: they were Rhotes, Mesokhorió, Pýrgo and Theodhoráki.

I lost much time in stopping, as I invariably did in each place, to enter into conversation with some of its inhabitants, and to ascertain if any vestiges of antiquity were to be found in its neighbourhood. I was in every instance unsuccessful. Since Rhytion must have existed somewhere on or close to the route which leads from Kastelianá to Haghíus Dhéka, it might be possible for some vestige of its name to be found in one of these villages: but I can hardly suppose that the mo-

[24] Professor HOECK is entitled to the credit of this emendation of the corrupt Ῥυθίμνη: see his Kreta, Vol. I. p. 414. The two towns are confounded by DOMINICUS NIGER, just as they had been by the copyist of Stephanus. See also CORNELIUS, Cret. Sacr. Tom. I. p. 115. They are likewise taken to denote the same town by FERRARIUS, in his Lexicon Geographicum, v. Rhytium, p. 327. ed. Lond. 1657.

[25] HOMER, Il. II. 648.

Φαιστόν τε Ῥύτιόν τε πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας.

[26] STRABO, X. p. 479. Γορτυνίων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ῥύτιον σὺν τῇ Φαιστῷ, Φαιστόν τε Ῥύτιόν τε.—

[27] NONNUS, Dionys. XIII. 233.

Οἳς ἅμα πολλοί
ὑψιλόφου Γόρτυνος ἐθωρήσσοντο πόλῖται,
καὶ νάσται Ῥυτίοιο.

dern Rhotes affords an indication of the situation of the ancient city.

At Kháraka I observed remains of a middle-age fortress on a little steep rock, from which it is supposed that the name of the village has been derived. Mount Kófinos was due south from Kháraka, and about six miles off.

Andrea Cornaro[28] and Coronelli[29] speak of Astritzi, which is at no great distance from Mount Kófinos, as the site of Asterusia. We know from Stephanus of Byzantium[30], that there was a Cretan mountain called Asterusia, on the south side of the island, and looking on the sea. He adds that the Indian city Asterusia, on Mount Caucasos, was called after this Cretan mountain by the colonists who founded it. The pretended establishment of another Indian city on Caucasos, by a colony from Tarrha[31], is perhaps no very strong reason for preferring one of the lofty mountains in its neighbourhood, to the vicinity of Kófinos, as the site of the Cretan Asterusia. At all events the etymology of its name[32] indicates sufficiently that its situation must have been very lofty.

We passed through Haghía Photía[33], and then between Dhionýsi and Kária, which is a little to the north: half an hour from Dhionýsi is Tárves, where we are still at the foot of the range of low hills of which I have spoken.

[28] ANDREA CORNARO, Historia di Candia, ap. Cornel. Cret. Sacr. I. 119.

[29] CORONELLI, Isolario &c. Asterusia is the twenty-eighth place in his list.

[30] STEPHANUS BYZANT. *Ἀστερουσία, ὄρος Κρήτης πρὸς νότιον μέρος, ἀποβλέπον εἰς θάλασσαν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ πόλις ἐπὶ τὸν Καύκασον Ἰνδικὴ Ἀστερουσία κέκληται, Κρητῶν ἀποικίας ἐκεῖσε σταλεῖσης.*

[31] STEPHANUS BYZANT. v. *Τάρρα*: see HOECK's Kreta, Vol. II. p. 371.

[32] EUSTATHIUS, on Homer, Il. B. 332. *Ἀστέριον—ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ γάρ, φασι, κειμένη τοῖς πόρρωθεν ὡς ἀστὴρ φαίνεται—ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀστερουσία Κρήτης, φασὶν, ὄρος, καὶ πόλις δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν Καύκασον.*

[33] *Ἡ ἁγία Φωτία*, Santa Lucia, Saint Bridget.

On leaving this village, Tárves, I met a man who answered, in reply to my inquiries, that there was an inscription at the church of Hághios Gheórghios up the hill to the south of the village, and distant about a mile. We are now so near the site of Gortyna that I expect to find some record of an alliance between that city and another independent state, or perhaps some tribute of gratitude to a Roman emperor; or a record of the munificence of an Egyptian king. I thought that at all events I should find something interesting: and eagerly secured the services of my informant as a guide.

After toiling up the ascent to the church in question, I certainly found a large slab of marble, but unfortunately it had never had a single letter on any part of its surface. The ignorance of the Greek peasantry is such that a traveller must never be surprised at any disappointment respecting the existence of antiquities: although I must own that on the present occasion I did fully calculate on meeting with something to copy, and hoped to be enabled to make some addition to what is known about ancient Crete.

The village Plóra further on, and also on the slope of these mountains, on the south side of the plain of Gortyna, manifestly preserves traces of the name of Pyloros, a Cretan city mentioned by Pliny, in whose list Rhytium immediately follows it[34].

Leaving Tárves at one, we began to cross towards Haghíus Dhéka[35], and, passing Vagoniá about the middle

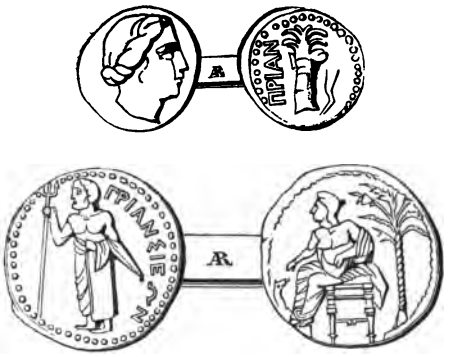
[34] PLINY, N. H. IV. 12. Mr Sieber finding this city Pyloros in Meursius's Map of Crete, near Gortyna, says, in a happier moment than is usual with him when he is concerned with ancient topography, "wahrscheinlich ist es das jetzige Plora unweit Gortyna." Reise nach der Insel, Kreta, Vol. II. p. 289.

[35] Τζῆ *ἁγίους Δέκα*, *The Ten Saints*. Forty Saints, Ἅγιοι Σαράντα, is a common name of Greek villages all over, but *Ten Saints* is peculiarly the name of this spot, where the ten saints of Gortyna are said to have suffered martyrdom in the reign of Decius. Few of the Cretan peasants knew any thing of Titus, but they are all familiar with the legend of these ten saints; of whom the reader will, in all probability, learn enough to satisfy his

of the plain, we arrived at three o'clock at the house of Captain Elías, who usually acts as *cicerone* to the strangers who visit the remains of Gortyna, and a cavern which the modern Greeks dignify by the name of "the labyrinth" in its neighbourhood. It is as clear as the sun at noon day, that the grotto in question is no more connected with the mythical labyrinth of Crete, which, as we have seen[36], was placed at Cnossos and not here, than any other cave in the island.

his curiosity on the subject, by consulting CORNELIUS, Cret. Sacr. Tom. I. pp. 156–166. and elsewhere. They have obtained a place not only in the Greek but also in the Roman Catholic Calendar, on the 23d of December.

[36] Above, Chapter XII.



COINS OF PRIANSOS.

CHAPTER XIX.

HAGHIUS DHEKA. AMPELUSSA. THE ANCIENT AMPELOS. THE MODERN AMPELOS. A SFAKIAN DISTICH. DIBAKI. KLIMA. APODHULO. CRETAN SALUTATION. EVENTS AT APODHULO. THE DAUGHTER OF CAPTAIN ALEXANDHROS, CARRIED OFF AS A SLAVE IN 1821, AND RETURNS TO CRETE IN 1829, THE WIFE OF AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN. PROBABLE SITES OF PSYKHION AND SULIA. MONASTERY OF ASOMATOS.

March 30.

YESTERDAY afternoon I made a rapid survey of the existing ruins of Gortyna, which have been described[1], as well as the cavern called ὁ λαβύρινθος[2], by most travellers who have visited Crete. This morning was very rainy, and it appeared pretty clear that nothing

[1] BELON, Singularitez etc. Liv. I. ch. VI. fol. 8. TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Lettre II. pp. 58—64. POCOCKE, Description of the East and some other countries, Vol. II. Part I. pp. 252—255. SAVARY, Lettres sur la Grèce, Lettre XXIII. have all been more or less diffuse on the subject.

[2] See the last-cited authors, and COCKERELL, in WALPOLE'S Memoirs, Vol. II. pp. 402—406. SIEBER, Reise. Vol. I. pp. 510—520. and Professor HOECK'S "Fuenfte Beylage: Das Labyrinth bey Gortyna," Kreta, Vol. I. pp. 447—454.

could be done towards a careful examination of the site; I remained here all the day. An understanding, entered into with Captain Copeland, before I left Malta, that he would either come with his vessel, the Beacon, or send her little tender, the Isabella schooner, to Khaniá, about the first of April, made me anxious to press onward towards that city. It was on this account that I had crossed the narrow part of the island, between Kavúsi and Hierápetra, called the Khersonesos by Strabo[3], and had postponed, for the present, the examination of the province of Setía. It was on this account also, that I had omitted to visit Lýttos, and the mountains of Lasíthi. Even if I had remained here long enough to view, with sufficient attention, the site of Gortyna, and the neighbouring cavern, still there would have remained Phaestos, Metallon, Fair Havens, and Leben, to visit on a future occasion: I therefore determined to put off the examination of Gortyna and of its dependent and neighbouring states, towards the African sea, till I should have visited the Sfakian mountains and the other western parts of the island.

At nine o'clock, then, this morning I set off from Haghíus Dhéka, in spite of the rain, which continued to fall all the way as we rode along the plain to Dibáki.

The village Ampelússa, which is between two and three miles from Haghíus Dhéka, evidently derives its name from the vine[4]. The Cretan wine has always been more or less celebrated[5]. There was an ancient city Ampelos, towards the eastern extremity of the island[6]: and

[3] STRABO, x. p. 478. fin. Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Σαμωνίου καὶ τῆς Χερρονήσου ἡ Πραῖσος ἵδρυτο, ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἑξήκοντα σταδίοις. MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VIII. p. 712. in speaking of the situation of Praesos, rightly observes, that Strabo's Khersonesos must denote the isthmus between Minoa Lyctiorum and Hierapytna.

[4] Ἄμπελος. The name of the village is pronounced Ambelússa.

[5] See on this subject, chapter XX. in this volume, and chapter XXIV. in the next, (pp. 51—56.)

[6] The promontory is found in PTOLEMY. PLINY, IV. 20. mentions the city.

Maniás informs me, that there is a place called 'Ampelo in Sfakiá, a little to the east of Askýfo, where a party of Mohammedans were surrounded, and, after a long and severe engagement, were nearly all destroyed, soon after the commencement of the Greek revolt. Many of them were left dead on the ground, and their bodies remained for weeks exposed to the burning summer sun. The dreadful stench which must have been thus produced may be conceived. Now the mountains about Askýfo ordinarily serve only as pasture for numerous flocks, and thus a mandrí, in which cheese is made, is found here and there among them. Hence the Sfakians sneered at the fate of this ill-starred party of Mohammedans in the ironical distich:

Στὴν Ἄμπελον ὁ Ἱερλὶ-Ἀγᾶς
ἑκάτσε τυροκόμας·
μὰ βρώμισε τοῦτο τυρί,
γροικᾶται ἀκόμη ὁ βρῶμος.

At 'Ampelo th' Yerlí-Agá
His station took, that there
He cheese might make: and with its stench
It still infects the air.

Another village, Bobia, near the edge of the plain of Mesará, calls to mind the ancient Boebe, of which we only know that it was in the Gortynian district[7].

We arrived at Dibáki at noon, having started from Haghíus Dhéka at nine o'clock. On leaving the plain we crossed a river which flows under Klíma. Advancing further along these south-eastern slopes of Mount Ida, we passed the small Mohammedan village of Sáhta, the first of a district called Abadhiá, and containing eight villages, chiefly inhabited by Mohammedans. The places are Haghía Paraské, Plátanos, Apodhúlo, Vathiakó, 'Ard-

[7] Stephanus Byzant. Βοίβη—ἐστι ἐν Κρήτῃ Βοίβη τῆς Γορτυνίδος.

hakto, Sáhta, Kurútes and Níthavri. They are spread along the southern and south-eastern slopes of Mount Ida, and the chief wealth of their inhabitants consists in the olive-trees which grow in their neighbourhood. There is likewise some arable land up in the valleys hereabouts, and several of the inhabitants of Abadhiá have also land down in the plain of Mesará. The term *Abadhiótes* is confined strictly to the Mohammedan inhabitants of the district.

I was at great pains, during my stay in Crete, to ascertain whether the account given respecting these Abadhiótes, by a French traveller, is at all correct. It was wholly in vain that I endeavoured to find any traces of the peculiarities of language and customs which Olivier[8] mentions as existing in this part of the island. Before the Greek revolution, the Mohammedans of Abadhiá were celebrated for the very frequent acts of violence which they committed, and which were ordinarily suffered to remain unpunished by the Turkish authorities of Megálo-Kástron; but in *no other point* did there exist the least difference between them and the other Mohammedans of the island.

The first village seen, after leaving Sáhta, is Plátanos, situated about a mile to the right: after passing through Vathiakó, we arrived at Apodhúlo at three o'clock. A few paces before entering this village I met a man, of whom I made some inquiries respecting the Proestós. The words of his salutation were remarkable[9], although I had heard them three or four times before, since I landed in Crete, and they called

[8] OLIVIER, Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, Tom. II. ch. XII. p. 309. "Parmi les peuples qui habitent aujourd'hui l'île de Crète, on remarque les Abadiotes, Musulmans de religion, Arabes d'origine, et restes de ces Sarrasins dont nous venons de parler. Leur physiognomie, differente de celle des autres Turcs," (!) "et la langue arabe qu'ils parlent entr'eux," (!!) "*ne laissent aucun doute à ce sujet.*" (!!!).

[9] They were, πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη στὸ ὄνομά σας, instead of the common Cretan phrase, πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη σᾶς.

to my mind some passages of Euripides[10], and a difference of opinion between Porson and Hermann on the subject of them.

At Apodhúlo I went to the house of the Proestós, Captain Aléxandhros, or, as he is more commonly called, Alexandhrákes, by whom I was hospitably received on a subsequent occasion, and the history of whose fortunes, from the beginning of the revolution to the present time, is not devoid of interest.

When the Sfakians and Rhizítes arose in insurrection against their Moslem lords, early in July 1821, the Mohammedans of Khaniá and the neighbouring districts were not long in finding out, that they were unable to put down the revolt. They were soon joined by very numerous succours from the central and eastern parts, where their correligionaries were more numerous than in the west. Christians were taken as servants by many of the Mohammedans who joined this expedition, and who were also accompanied by spare horses and mules, which they meant to load with the spoils of Sfakiá. They remembered the victory obtained over the Sfakians in 1770, and thought their success would be equally certain now. As these numerous forces passed through the district of Amári, on their way to Khaniá, they did not either murder or even plunder the quiet and peaceful Christian inhabitants. But, on their return, they wreaked vengeance on the defenceless and submissive rayas of Amári, Hághios Vasílios, and the other districts through which they passed, for the sufferings and losses they had endured in the Sfakian mountains. Every Greek whom they fell in with they massacred: the women and children they made prisoners and slaves. No *orders* to commit such enormities were issued by Sheríf-pashá, the Governor-general of the island and

[10] EURIPIDES, Hec. 433. Herm. ed. 1831.

ὦ φῶς· προσειπεῖν γὰρ σὸν ὄνομ' ἔξεστί μοι.

Orest. 1080. Pors.

ἀλλ' ὦ ποθεινὸν ὄνομ' ὁμιλίας ἐμῆς.

Commander-in-chief of the expedition; but straggling parties of his returning troops spread themselves over the country, and, with the ordinary license of Janissaries and irregular forces, acted in this lawless way, although assurances had been given, both by the Pashá and by Agriolídhes, that the Amariótes, who were still peaceable subjects, should remain uninjured.

The news of this conduct of the Mohammedans spread rapidly throughout the district, and, before they arrived at Apodhúlo, my host and all the male Christian inhabitants of the village had already sought security on the lofty summits of Mount Ida. Two old men, each upwards of a hundred years of age, supposed that their years would protect them, and remained at home, but were both massacred.

My host's family had been suffering severely from that common scourge of every part of the Turkish empire, the plague: no less than four of his children had been its victims. He had placed his daughter Kalítza and his son Ioánnes in a hut, a little to the east of the village, with a woman, who had also with her three of her own children, to be out of the way of contagion, until the plague should have left the village. Aléxandhros went, on the morning in question, to tell his children, and the woman in the hut, of the expected passage of the Mohammedans, and to bid them not to be alarmed. The troops at length passed along in great numbers, and the hut was not examined by any of them. At last, however, a single straggler stopped, and turned aside from the road, to gather herbs in a field close by the place of refuge of the woman and children. The cottage attracted his attention: he cautiously approached it; and, at length, demanded whether there were any *men* within it. He was of course told that there were none. He then ordered the woman to open the door that he might see within the house; and, on satisfying himself of the defenceless condition of its occupants, he entered. The result was that he carried off with him to Dibáki,

as captives, this helpless woman and the five children. Soon afterwards the two children of Aléxandhros were separated from their companions in the hut, and at last from each other. Kalítza, while at Dibáki, saw her mother, and her infant brother Constantine, who had both suffered the same misfortune, and were then, like herself and her other brother, captives and slaves.

For a long time Aléxandhros and his wife could learn nothing of the fate of their children, except that their daughter had been sent to Egypt, and that their son had been disposed of to a Mohammedan within the walls of Megálo-Kástron. At length, however, tidings respecting their daughter, as definite as they were cheering and unlooked for, reached them.

Years rolled on, and, in the month of September 1829, an Englishman, accompanied by his wife and several domestics, arrived at Khaniá: in a few days a meeting took place between the strangers and Captain Aléxandhros's family. It would be as difficult to describe as it is easy to conceive the joy experienced by the parents on receiving this full proof, by the evidence of their senses, of the happy fortune which had attended their child. She who had been for years deplored by them as dwelling in Egyptian bondage, was the wife of an English gentleman[11].

Before I left Crete, I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with this long-lost daughter and her husband; of spending some time with them in Megálo-Kástron; of visiting them under the roof of Captain Aléxandhros at Apodhúlo, and of rambling with them on the slopes of Mount Ida. They were then on their return from Egypt, where they had long resided, to England.

When at Apodhúlo, I was told that at Kastrí, between two and three miles off towards the sea, considerable Hellenic remains are found. The chief port of

[11] This they learnt by letter, from their daughter, some time before.

Amári is Hághio Galéne, which is somewhat to the eastward of Apodhúlo, and is probably the site of the ancient Sulia or Sulena, recorded by the author of the Stadiasmus[12], as a promontory where there was a harbour and good water. It was sixty-five stades from Matala. Psychion, a city mentioned by Stephanus[13], and fixed by Ptolemy[14] between Phoenix and Matalia, is placed by the Stadiasmus[15] twelve stades to the west of Sulia, a distance which agrees very well with the situation of Kastrí.

In half an hour after leaving Apodhúlo, Níthavri is on our right, on the side of Pselorítes, and about half a mile off. We now descend for about twenty minutes, and then cross a torrent which flows from Pselorítes to the south coast. Before reaching the summit of the ascent on the opposite side I saw to some distance down this valley, and observed that, lower down, the river passes through a perpendicular cleft in the rocks. After an ascent of nearly half an hour, along parts of which, as well as in the previous descent, considerable remains of a Venetian paved road still exist, we see spread out before us the fine valley of Asómatos. On the left side of it are the villages of Anómeros, Vrýsis and Monasteráki: to the right, just before us, is Vasári, and, on a hill, Fúrfuras, which is about six hundred paces beyond Visári. These villages are surrounded with olive-trees, as at lower elevations. Fúrfuras was the scene of a considerable engagement between the Greeks and Turks, during the first year of the war. We reached the summit at ten minutes past six; and, after traversing the valley till a little before seven, we discerned to our left some cypress-trees and parts of a white

[12] ANONYMI STADIASMUS, in Geograph. Graec. Min. I. II. p. 495. ed. Gail. Ἀπὸ Ματάλης εἰς Σουλίαν σταδ. ξέ. ἀκρωτήριόν ἐστιν ἀνέχον πρὸς μεσημβρίαν· λιμὴν ἐστι· καλὸν ὕδωρ ἔχει.

[13] STEPHANUS BYZ. Ψύχιον, τόπος Κρήτης, ἐν ᾧ πόλις ἦν ὁμώνυμος.

[14] PTOLEMY, p. 31. [15] STADIASMUS, l. c.

building, which proved to be the monastery of Asómatos. In a few minutes we were standing by a blazing fire, lighted up in the chamber reserved for visitors: we soon obtained some refreshments, and excellent wine, which, after a ride of nearly ten hours from Haghíus Dhéka, was most acceptable.

AN EVENING IN A PEASANT'S COTTAGE.

CHAPTER XX.

MONASTERY OF ASOMATOS. EVENTS AT RHITHYMNOS IN JULY 1821. THE CRETAN'S ATTACHMENT TO HIS NATIVE LAND. THE WATER OF THE STONE. MONASTERY OF ARKADHI. THE SITES OF ELEUTHERNA AND SYBRITIA. FATE OF THE MOHAMMEDAN LEADER IATIMELES. EXACTIONS OF THE SFAKIANS. AMNATO. MOSQUE, AND VESTIGES OF THE VENETIANS. TRIPODOS, DEMETER, AND IASION. EFFECTS OF THE GREEK DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION EXEMPLIFIED IN THE LANGUAGE OF A DRUNKEN MOHAMMEDAN. IDENTITY BETWEEN CERTAIN DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES OF THE ROMAN AND GREEK CHURCHES. THE MOHAM-

MEDAN PREJUDICE AGAINST WINE COMMON AMONG ORIENTALS. THE VINE OF EGYPT. ARRIVAL AT PERIVOLIA, NEAR RHITHYMNOS. THE "FIRST-FLOOR" OF A GREEK COTTAGE. SPRINGS OF WATER WHICH IS WARM IN WINTER AND COLD IN SUMMER. ARRIVAL AT KHANIA AFTER SUNSET. THE GATES OPENED. RECORDS OF THE FRENCH CONSULATE. SARCOPHAGUS FOUND AT ARVI.

March 31.

THE venerable Hegúmenos tells me that the monastery possessed annals of its history, which were burnt during the revolution. At present its members are only the Hegúmenos, three Patéres and three servants. In former times it had an Hegúmenos, six Patéres and ten servants. Soon after the commencement of the Greek revolution, the Pashá of Rhíthymnos invited the Abbots of several monasteries, as well as many Patéres and Papádhes, (monks and parish priests,) from Mylopótamos, Amári, and the Rhithymnian district, to go into the city that they might each of them receive a written document (bujurdí) of amnesty and pardon to their correligionaries for what had happened. These documents were to be promulgated by the priests in their respective districts, and to be enforced by their own authority and influence, in order to induce the christian peasantry to remain quiet. It was pretended that the tranquillity of this part of the island would probably be then ensured. Many of the poor priests trusted the Turks; for, knowing well that the proposed means were likely to produce their object, the tranquillity of the island, they thought it natural that they should be adopted. One of those who thus went to Rhíthymnos, to receive instructions from the Turkish authorities, was the Hegúmenos of this monastery. Those who arrived first were detained within the city, and when their number, within its walls, was judged to be sufficiently great, they were all put to death. They thus learnt, when too late, how fatal a mistake they had committed in having supposed the Turks capable of using any means, but those of force and terror, to appease the revolt.

This account of the Hegúmenos is confirmed by the words of a letter, written on the 15th of August 1821, by Monsieur D'Herculez, the Austrian Vice-Consul at Khaniá, to the Imperial Internuncio at Constantinople[1].

From that time the monastery remained without either Hegúmenos or Patéres till about three years ago, when, on the restoration of tranquillity by the Egyptians, the present Hegúmenos returned. He had spent five years of the revolution in Síphnos, and the rest in other islands, occasionally visiting Crete. He embraced the first opportunity of returning to establish himself in the country of his birth, although it is still under Turkish sway, "for," as he says, "one's native land is always sweet[2]."

Distinguished as all the Greeks are by the love of their own country, this general characteristic is still more strongly developed in the Cretans than in the inhabitants of any other district, with which I am acquainted in this part of the world. In ancient times, the Cretans shewed this affection for their native island by calling it not by the common name of fatherland, (πατρίς,) but by the still dearer appellation of *mother-land* (μητρίς,) a word which is mentioned, as peculiar to the Cretans, by Plato, Plutarch, Aelian, and Synesius[3].

On leaving the monastery of Asómatos we ascended for nearly half an hour, and then a descent of about

[1] The words to which I allude are the following: "L'insurrection des Grecs n'est pas générale, le Pacha de Candie a établi dans le temps un cordon de Janissaires pour contenir plusieurs provinces, qui, n'ayant pas été molestées par les Turcs, sont restées dans le devoir. Le Pacha de Rettimo, moins prévoyant, a par contre autorisé le massacre de plusieurs Grecs, sans prendre, au préalable, des mesures pour éviter un soulèvement."

[2] Ἡ πατρίδα εἶναι πάντοτε γλυκεῖα εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

[3] PLATO, Rep. IX. p. 575. d. Καὶ ὑπὸ τούτοις δὴ δουλεύουσαν τὴν πάλαι φίλην μητρίδα τε, Κρῆτές φασι, καὶ πατρίδα ἕξει τε καὶ θρέψει. PLUTARCH, II. p. 792. e. Ἡ δὲ πατρὶς καὶ μητρίς, ὡς Κρῆτες καλοῦσι, πρεσβύτερα καὶ μείζονα δίκαια γονέων ἔχουσα. AELIAN, V. H. XIII. 38. (and KUHNIUS) AELIAN, N. A. XVII. 35. and 40. (and F. JACOBS,) SYNESIUS, Ep. XCIV. (See also STEPHANUS BYZANT. in *Ios*, and PAUSANIAS, X. p. 857.) MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 256. and HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 519.

A. Schranz del.

T. Hughes Lith.

MONASTERY OF ARKADHI.

J. Murray Albemarle St.

equal length brought us to the Water of the Stone[4], a fountain the virtues of which are the same as those assigned to many fountains, by ancient authors[5], and have probably been the cause of its name. So celebrated is it, that persons sometimes send to the monastery which we have left, even from Constantinople, for a few bottles of it, and it is said to be always highly beneficial to the invalids who take it. The mountain hereabouts is covered with heath[6] and wild strawberry trees[7].

An ascent of forty minutes brings us in sight of the monastery of Arkádhi, on a little plain and surrounded by many pine-trees. Over the entrance gateway is an inscription, coeval, I suppose, with the erection of the building, in which mention is made of the monk Neóphytos, the Hegúmenos of the monastery[8].

I ascertained while here, that there are ancient remains near the metókhi Elévtherna, which is less than three miles to the north-east or east of Arkádhi. Now, supposing the site of Eleutherna to be near this metókhi of the monastery, I was naturally induced to make all

[4] Τῆς πέτρας τὸ νερόν.

[5] VITRUVIUS, VIII. 3. "Item sunt nonnullae acidae venae fontium—quae hanc habent virtutem, uti calculos, in vesicis, qui nascuntur in corporibus hominum, potionibus discutiant. PLINY, N. H. XXXI. 5. In Aenaria insula calculosis mederi. Et quae vocatur Acidula—haec frigida. Item &c." Again. c. 8. "Tungri civitas Galliae fontem habet insignem. Purgat hic corpora, tertianas febres discutit, calculorumque vitia." The surgical operation, so commonly performed for this disease, in modern times, was known to the ancients, and is very fully described by CELSUS, de Medic. VII. c. XXVI. § 2. and 3.

[6] Ἐρείκη.

[7] Κόμαροι.

[8] ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙΚΕ ΤΗC ΨΥΧΗC ΤΥ ΔΥΛΥ CΥ
ΝΕΟΦΥΤΥΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΥ
ΤΥ ΚΑΘΗΓΥΜΕΝΥ Κ\ ΠΑCΗC ΤΗCΕΝΧΩ
ΗΜΩΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΤΗΤΟC

|ΑΧ| |ΨΓ|

possible inquiries to learn the situation of Sybritia. We know from the Peutinger Table that the latter city was eight miles to the south-west of Eleutherna; and its numerous and beautiful silver coins would lead us to suppose it to have been a place of some consideration. Scylax mentions it, along with Eleutherna, saying that Eleutherna is on the north side of the island, and Sybritia on the south[9]; and its name occurs even in Hierocles[10].

My very diligent inquiries after the city which was situated so near Eleutherna, were at length successful. I discovered that there are vestiges of antiquity on the summit of a lofty hill, about five miles to the southward of Arkádhi. The distance agrees very well with that of the Table, and it is only necessary to examine the sites, in order to be able to decide with confidence on the question. Supposing however as I did, that the Beacon would reach Khaniá about the first of April, and being anxious to see Captain Copeland, as I have already mentioned, I postponed my examination of these sites, for the present[11].

In the winter after the revolution commenced, the Sfakians began to spread themselves over the district of Amári, and engaged the Rhithymnióte Mohammedans both in Amári and Rhíthymnos. On this Iatimelés, a Mohammedan leader, left Rhíthymnos with eighty picked men, and took possession of the monastery of Arkádhi. He supposed that his presence, with such a party, would tend to keep the neighbouring district tranquil, since the Christians of Amári had not yet revolted, and the Mohammedans were all remaining quiet in their villages. The straggling parties of armed Christians, chiefly natives of Sfakiá, who were dispersed through the

[9] SCYLAX, in Geog. Gr. Min. T. I. p. 265. Gail.

[10] HIEROCLES, ed. Wess. p. 651.

[11] It was not until I had explored all the western part of the island, and had taken some pains in examining the Sfakian mountains, that I was able to return to my monastic friends of Arkádhi and Asómatos, and to look upon what is left of Eleutherna and Sybritia.

neighbourhood, no sooner learnt that Iatimelés had established himself at Arkádhi, than orders to assemble were immediately given by their leaders, and on the evening of the festival of Hághios Antónios, a little while after sunset, the Christians assembled at Thrónos to the number of 400 men. The Mohammedans had then been only a few days in the monastery. Some time before midnight the Christians commenced their march, and in about two hours arrived at Arkádhi. A postern, of the existence of which the Mohammedans in the monastery were ignorant, was opened to them by the Patéres, who were in correspondence with them and expected their arrival. The Mohammedan inmates of the convent knew nothing of the silent entrance of these armed and rebel Christians within its walls. Most of them were lodged in the Hegumenikó[12], but others were dispersed in different cells around the court-yard of the monastery.

Some time before day-break the Christians made a sudden attack on the unsuspecting Moslems. Those who were sleeping in different cells were most of them dispatched without great difficulty; but a few fought their way to the Hegumenikó, and prepared for a desperate defence. The Christians, however, succeeded in setting fire to the building, and the Mohammedans, who saw that there was no longer a possibility of either resistance or escape, surrendered. In all likelihood the victors promised to spare their lives; "but when they had come out of the Hegumenikó, the Christians saw that several of themselves had fallen: one of them found his brother slain, and another his cousin, and another his companion; and they therefore put all their prisoners to death[13]." There

[12] Which, in our own monastic language of the nineteenth century, would be called the Master's, President's or Provost's Lodge.

[13] Captain Maniás made this apology for his correligionaires: his words were: *Ἀπῆε τοὺε ἔβγαλαν ὄξω ἀπὸ τὸ Ἡγουμενικό, εἶδασι καὶ Ῥωμαίουε πολλοὺε χαρασμένουε, καὶ εὑρήκασιν ὁ γῆε τὸν ἀδερφόν του, καὶ ὁ ἄρροε τὸν ἐξαδερφόν του, καὶ ὁ ἀρροε τὸν σύντροφόν του σκοτωμένουε· καὶ τότεε τοὺε*

were only seven Christians slain, while of the Mohammedans no more than eight or ten escaped. The bodies of all these slaughtered Mohammedans were thrown into a well near the monastery. The ordinary rites of Christian burial were performed by the Hegúmenos and Patéres over the remains of the Greeks.

The events of this expedition of Iatimelés, like others which have been already mentioned, are duly celebrated in a popular song, which begins in a bitterly ironical strain:

Ἐσηκώθηκεν ὁ Ἰατιμελῆς
νὰ πάγῃ στὸ Ἀρκάδι,
νὰ πάγῃ νὰ βρῇ τὸν Ἡγούμενον,
νὰ λειτουργοῦν ὁμάδι·

'Twas Iatimelés set forth
And to Arkádhi went,
The Hegúmenos that he might find,
With whom to pray he meant!

The Mohammedans of Rhíthymnos, on learning the fate of Iatimelés, came here with all their force. The Hegúmenos and his kalógheri felt their character as peaceable rayas so completely compromised, by the events which had happened, that when the armed Greeks left the monastery they too retired to the loftier ranges of mount Ida in the district of Amári. Two very old kalógheri, who were hardly able to walk, thought their age would protect them, and remained behind. When the Mohammedans came to the monastery, they shot them both, and reduced the greater part of the buildings to a heap of ruins.

τοὺς ἐπίανε ἡ πίκρα, καὶ τοὺς ἐχάρασαν ὄρους. He added, what was probably the only true cause of the massacre, Ἐγνώρισαν ὅπως ἤτονι οἱ πρῶτοι ἀνδρειωμένοι τοῦ Ῥιθύμνου, καὶ δὲν ἤτονι διαφορητικὸν νὰ γυρίσωσιν ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ Ῥίθυμνος· they were fine fellows, and it was not desirable that the Greeks should ever have to fight with them again.

The Hegúmenos and Patéres remained in the district of Amári till the following Easter. They then returned, and, fitting up a few of the apartments of the burnt monastery, resided here till they heard, the year after, that Khuseín-bey was coming: they then again fled to the lofty mountain summits, and afterwards stationed themselves at their metókhi at Véni, situated near the summit of a lofty hill on which are found the ruins of Sybritia. They dwelt at Véni from October till April. Amári having submitted to Khuseín-bey they returned to the convent, and never fled from it afterwards. They used to have daily visits paid them by Sfakians and other armed Christians, and the Hegúmenos asserts, that they experienced rougher treatment at the hands of the Sfakians, than they had ever met with from the Mohammedans.[14] They were plundered of many sheep and goats, as well as of the plate of the monastery[15]. The Sfakians however used to allege, that they wanted these contributions to help to defray the expenses of the war[16]; and, since it is a notorious fact that no Sfakian has enriched himself by these acts of rapine, but, like the Hydhraeans, most of them are much poorer than they were before the beginning of the insurrection, it must be admitted that something may be said in their defence, for having applied the useless monastic silver to military purposes.

We left the monastery of Arkádhi at a quarter before four, and immediately descended into a ravine, which we crossed. Following the path, on its western side, we emerged at its entrance at half-past four, when Amnátos was before us about two miles off. The minaret seen towering above the houses of this village, indicated that its inhabitants are chiefly Mohammedans.

[14] Μᾶς ἐκάμασι πράγματα οἱ Σφακιανοὶ ἄπου δὲν τὰ εἴδαμεν ἀπὸ τῆς Τουρκίας.

[15] Consisting chiefly of silver candlesticks and lamps used in the church. The Hegúmenos tells me that these ornaments amounted to 25 okes of silver and 170 drachms of gold.

[16] Διὰ τὰ ἔξοδα τοῦ πολέμου.

I observed, in riding through it, several houses which had been built in the time of the Venetians. Above the entrance to one of them is placed a coat of arms, cut in stone, and under it the inscription,

INITIUM SAPIENTIE TIMOR DOMINI.

A Doric column is still standing on each side of this entrance.

It appears from Sieber[17], that there is a village, Tripodus, in this neighbourhood. He passed through it, and endeavours to persuade his reader that it is the site of an ancient city[18]. Meursius[19] had numbered Tripodus among the ancient Cretan cities, misled by a false reading in Diodorus Siculus[20], who speaks of the amour of Iasion with Demeter, which, as we know from Hesiod[21], took place "in a newly broken up field which had been thrice ploughed." Theocritus speaks of the good fortune of Iasion as too great to be listened to by profane ears[22]; and his Scholiast[23] tells us, that Demeter visited Iasion in Crete, when he was sleeping in a meadow. It is evident, therefore, that we have no reason for believing in the existence of any Cretan

[17] SIEBER's Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. II. p. 292.

[18] With SIEBER l. c. compare HOECK's Kreta, Vol. I. p. 436.

[19] MEURSIUS Creta, p. 61.

[20] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 77. Compare NEUMANN, Rerum Creticarum Specimen, p. 32.

[21] HESIOD, Theogon. 969.

Δημήτηρ μὲν Πλοῦτον ἐγείνατο δῖα θεάων,
Ἰασίῳ ἥρωϊ μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότητι,
νειῷ ἐνὶ τριπόλῳ Κρήτης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ.

[22] THEOCRITUS, Idyll. III. 50.

Ζαλῶ δέ, φίλα γύναι, Ἰασίωνα,
ὃς τόσσων ἐκύρησεν ὅσ' οὐ πευσεῖσθε βέβαλοι.

The story was, however, well known to every one, as Mr Lobeck has observed. On the allegorical interpretation of DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 49: see LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 136.

[23] SCHOLIAST ON THEOCRITUS, l. c. T. IV. p. 73. ed. Gaisf. Ἰασίων ὁ Κρής, Κρήτης βασιλεύς, υἱὸς ἦν Μίνωος, καὶ Φρονίας νύμφης. Τούτῳ ἐν λειμῶνι κοιμωμένῳ ἡ Δημήτηρ συνῆλθε.

city Tripodus or Tripolus; and cannot follow Diodorus Siculus and Dr Cramer[24] in speaking of Tripolus, which is Hesiod's mere adjective "thrice-ploughed," as the proper name of the spot "where Plutus was said by the mythologists to have been born."

For the first half hour of our journey after passing the village of Amnátos, the road lay through groves of olive trees, almost entirely uncultivated. At a quarter before six we crossed a stream, and at six reached the Turkish village of Lutrá; at twenty minutes after six we passed Peghé[25]; and, a little further on, met two Mohammedans who were returning from Rhíthymnos, where they had been spending the day. One of them was in such a state of inebriation, from the quantity of wine he had been drinking in the city, that he could hardly sit on his horse. He professed to wish to communicate something of importance to me; but would not speak while my Christian guide, Captain Maniás, was within hearing. I therefore sent Maniás on, and waited to receive the important communication which he was so very anxious to make to me. His confession was as follows: "I am a Mohammedan, and yet, while in the city to day, I have been drinking the blood of Christ[26]."

Although the Mohammedans of Crete generally indulge, with the temperance usual among orientals, in the juice of the grape, yet they of course know, that to do so is a peculiar habit of the *Cretan* Musulman, and does not at all improve his character for orthodoxy in the opinion of other true believers[27]. Thus

[24] CRAMER, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 395., in his list of such towns "as are named by ancient authors, but the localities of which we have not the means of ascertaining," mentions "Tripolus, a spot where Plutus was said by the mythologists to have been born."

[25] See above, pp. 115—121.

[26] Εἶμαι Τοῦρκος—hiccup—Τοῦρκος—hiccup—ὅμως—σήμερον—ἔπια τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[27] See above, p. 10. Positive drunkenness is a civil offence according to Mohammedan law, and is punishable by a fine. Although the Cretan Mohammedans

this drunken fellow knew that, by his excess, he had committed an offence against the precepts of his own religion; and the monstrous dogma of transubstantiation, held by the Greek church as well as by the Roman Catholic[28], doubtless suggested to him the

Mohammedans drink wine, and consider it as an old and peculiar custom, yet their women never suffer it to pass their lips, and their drinking it would be regarded, both by themselves and the men, as a great crime. Thus, wine was expressly forbidden to the women in ancient Rome and Italy: see ATHENAEUS, X. pp. 440—441., as well as at Massilia and Miletos: ATHENAEUS, X. p. 429.

[28] The Oriental church keeps pace with her sister of Rome in almost all her extravagances, and (if I may revert to a subject which has been already frequently alluded to) most of all in the facility with which she adopts old Heathen legends, and clothes them in a Christian garb. Probably there are few Heathen superstitions patronized by the Pope of Rome which are not equally petted by the Patriarch of Constantinople. As the Pagan legend, that a statue of Apollo, on the approach of a great public calamity, wept three days and three nights successively, has been adopted at Rome (see LIVY, XLIII. 13, and MIDDLETON'S Letter from Rome, p. 204), so when Constantinople was entered by the victorious troops of Mohammed II. a voice came from Heaven to the priests, who were officiating in the temple of Haghía Sophía, (*Φωνὴ τοὺς ἤρθ' ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀγγέλων 'πὸ τὸ στόμα·* FAURIEL, Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne, Tom. II. p. 338.) telling them to cease from their psalmody, and,

Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν ἡ Δέσποινα, δακρύζουν αἱ εἰκόνες,

When this the Virgin heard, *her pictures wept!*

The same voice, however, consoled her, by saying,

Σῶπα, Κυρία Δέσποινα, μὴν κλαίῃς μὴ δακρύσῃς·
Πάλι μὲ χρόνους, μὲ καιροὺς πάλι' δικά σου εἶναι.

Be still, O Lady Virgin, shed no tears!
Again, in time, these things shall be thy own!

In respect of reliques also, a melancholy rivalry has long existed between members of the churches of Rome and Constantinople, and it seems almost difficult to decide which of the two parties are the more deserving of reprobation and contempt. When they were pitted together, to argue the great question between the Eastern and Western churches, respecting the use of leavened or unleavened bread for the consecrated wafer, the Greek seems to have used some of his reliques as an unanswerable argument against the Romanist: he exhibited a piece of the very loaf of which Christ spoke the celebrated words during the last supper! It was found to be leavened, and the Romanists could make no reply!! They could not doubt respecting the uncorrupted preservation of a piece of bread for any number of centuries; for the Greek believes, that the consecrated elements, on becoming the very body

strange and shocking expression which he used. And indeed, his exclamation seems even natural, when we remember his credulous neighbour's adoration of the wine, even *before* its miraculous conversion; and his monstrous belief, that by the magic words of a priest, the wholesome juice of the grape is changed into the very blood of "Him who made the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is[29]."

The strong prejudice now entertained by Mohammedans against the use of wine, has been common among Orientals from very ancient times, and was a prominent feature in the systems of several sects of Christian heretics[30].

We know that wine was likewise forbidden to the ancient Egyptians, on religious principles which continued to prevail till the age of Psammetichus[31], only about six centuries before the Christian era[32]. Wine

body of the Deity, are rendered incapable of corruption, (see LEO ALLATIUS, l. c. p. 172.;) and the Romanist regards even the every day holy water of his churches as endued with the same miraculous property: LEO ALLATIUS, l. c.

[29] "When the Priest consecrates the elements, the very substance of the bread and of the wine is transformed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ." See WADDINGTON, p. 44. The doctrine is very distinctly laid down by the Oriental Church; and Tournefort found that even the ignorant papáses were aware of the doctrine of their church being, that Christ is present σωματικῶς (bodily).

[30] AUGUSTIN, de Morib. Manichae. II. § 44. EPIPHANIUS, Haeres. XLV. § 1. JABLONSKI, Pantheon Aegypt. I. p. 132.

[31] PLUTARCH, on Isis and Osiris, p. 353. b. Ἤρξαντο δὲ πίνειν ἀπὸ Ψαμμητίχου, πρότερον δὲ οὐκ ἔπινον οἶνον.

[32] The pictorial monuments exhibited by ROSELLINI, I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, Tom. II. (Monumenti Civili,) Tav. No. XXXVII. XXXVIII. XXXIX. (compare also LXIX.) seem to represent processes of the art of making wine, identical with those described by Greek and Roman writers. The question whether they are due exclusively either to Greek art, or to intercourse with the Greeks, is important and interesting. I leave it to Oriental scholars to decide whether there is any soundness in Rosellini's views respecting his Coptic Saufi, whom he endeavours to identify with the Cheops of Herodotus, and confine myself, designedly, to the evidence of the Greek authors. This question of the growth of the vine in Egypt, with reference to the date of Genesis, has been more or less fully discussed by Michaelis, Jablonski, Heeren, Voss, Drumann, and Bohlen.

was then regarded as the blood of the impious giants who had fought against the gods[33].

The culture of the vine might be supposed to have been introduced into Egypt by the Greek colonists, who, in the time of Psammetichus, settled in the country, but that Herodotus expressly denies that there were vines in Egypt in his time[34]. At all events, at a later period, Egyptian wines became celebrated, and are frequently spoken of by ancient authors. The absurd identification of the Egyptian Osiris, with the Theban Dionysos, led to most erroneous notions on this subject, as Jablonski has observed[35].

The spread of Mohammedanism over Egypt proved as fatal to the cultivation of the vine, as the restoration of the old Egyptian religion would have been: and, throughout the long period during which Venice was in possession of Crete, a large portion of the wine produced here was exported to Egypt for the use of the Christians and Jews who dwelt in the principal cities of that country[36].

The oppressive and unjust government of the Venetians used to cause the emigration of many Christian families, who could better live under the Mohammedans of Egypt than under the Venetian-Christians of Crete. The great annual exportation of wine to Alexandria and Cairo[37], caused so many of them to settle in those

[33] PLUTARCH, l. c. p. 363. b. Αἷμα τῶν πολεμησάντων ποτὲ τοῖς θεοῖς.

[34] HERODOTUS, II. 77. Οἴνῳ δ' ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένῳ διαχρέωνται, οὐ γάρ σφί εἰσι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι. Similarly ATHENAEUS, X. p. 418. e. and p. 447. c. The poor people of Alexandria continued to use this cheap home-brewed beer in later times: STRABO, XVII. p. 799. It is called ζύθος by Herodotus and other authors, and was also known by the name βρῦτον, as appears from SOPHOCLES, in Athen. X. p. 447. b. Τὸν δὲ κρίθινον οἶνον καὶ βρῦτον τινὲς καλοῦσιν, ὡς Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τριπτολέμῳ.

[35] JABLONSKI Pantheon Aegypt. I. p. 130. "Qui Osiridem vitis inventorem faciunt, non sane animadvertunt, quantum adversus religionem Aegyptiorum piaculum committant."

[36] Below, Vol. II. p. 56. note 50. Compare VON BOHLEN, Das alte Indien, Vol. I. p. 144. and Genesis, p. 374.

[37] I quote from an official Report to the Senate:—"Rendono con le varie oppressioni e tirannie considerata si dura la conditione de' sudditi più deboli in

cities, that the Venetian consul of the latter place made a formal complaint on the subject to a Proveditor in Crete[38].

A little before seven we passed another long tract of uncultivated olives, and, in about half an hour more, arrived at the village of Perivólia, where, since it was then long after sunset, and we should in all probability have found great difficulty in obtaining admission into the city, if we had proceeded to it, we determined to repose for the night.

Maniás conducted us to the house of a relation of his, the greater part of whose family had retired to rest before we arrived. Within the single apartment, on the ground-floor, of which, as is generally the case in all the villages of Crete, the house consists, we find a sort of upper story, or rather a wooden floor, extending along about one-third of the apartment, at a height of nine or ten feet from the ground. This apology for a "first floor," is reached by a ladder, and is ordinarily used as the sleeping-place of the family. We threw the cottagers into great confusion by arriving after they had retired to rest. They insisted on giving up to us the "first floor" in question; so we ascended by the ladder, and were fortunate enough to rest extremely well.

April 1.

We started from Perivólia before seven, and passing outside the gates of Rhíthymnos, journeyed on as far as Dhrámia, before we halted. We reached the house of Captain Maniás at a quarter before eleven. His

in quel regno, che molti eligono di svellarsi e sradicarsi con le loro famiglie dal caro nido, et amata patria, e passar nei paesi e sotto al dominio degli Infedeli."

[38] The Consul's name was Antonio Capello, and he writes under the date of 14 September, 1622, saying, that, "Venetian subjects come to all parts of Egypt, from Crete and other places, and that from their keeping taverns, &c. nascono homicidii questioni et altri scandali." This being attributed wholly to the Franks 'ci facciamo odiosi a tutti'—He adds: "Se ne fanno molte volte Turchi, in modo che dalla venuta di costoro quì nascono tanti disordini."

mother was absent gathering olives; but soon came, and treated us very hospitably, regretting greatly that I proceeded again on my journey at twelve o'clock.

At a little distance from the road, after passing the Hellenic bridge[39], is a copious source, which Maniás described in such enthusiastic terms, as to induce me to deviate from the direct route in order that I might drink of its water. He asserted that it is of a most refreshing and delightful coldness in the summer, and is equally distinguished by its warmth in the winter season[40]. Thus the characteristic credulity of the Greek is as strongly developed at the present day as it was three thousand years ago, when Homer described the warmth of one of two springs[41], both of which are nearly of the same temperature[42], in the neighbourhood of Troy, and said that another was cold as ice or snow *in the summer*.

At half-past three we were descending over the brow of the hill near the foot of which the village of Neokhorió is situated, and had before us the plain of Apokórona, and to the left the snow-covered Sfakian mountains. The day was clear and the sun shone brightly on the

[39] See above, p. 68.

[40] HOMER, Il. XXII. 149.

> Ἡ μὲν γάρ θ' ὕδατι λιαρῷ ῥέει, ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνός
> γίνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὡσεὶ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο·
> ἡ δ' ἐτέρη θέρεϊ προρέει, εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ,
> ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ, ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ.

[41] Colonel LEAKE, Researches in Greece, p. 420. "The water of the springs of Burná-bashi seems to be nearly of the same temperature, of 60°, (of Fahrenheit,) all the year, and will consequently feel cool when the air is at 70° or 80°, and warm when it is at 40° or 50°. It has often occurred to me in Greece to find the same source which I had admired in the summer for its refreshing coolness, disagreeably tepid, and flat to the taste in the winter." Maniás maintained, that this very tepidity, in the winter, rendered the water of all such springs ὑγιέστατον, especially for cattle. I need not add that no thermometers would ever shake Maniás's deeply rooted faith in the change of absolute temperature in these his favourite fountains, at the different seasons of the year.

[42] Maniás repeated this assertion of some other choice springs which we found elsewhere in the island.